

# The Historiographer #119

of the Episcopal Diocese of Connecticut

February  
1982



REV. SAMUEL JOHNSON, D.D.

ARCHIVIST & HISTORIOGRAPHER  
EPISCOPAL DIOCESE OF CONN.  
BOX A STA. A, HARTFORD 06106

A SERMON PREACHED AT LITCHFIELD, IN CONNECTICUT,  
BEFORE A VOLUNTARY CONVENTION OF THE CLERGY OF  
THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND...JUNE 13, 1770.

[n. p., July, 1770]...By Samuel Peters ..... 91

VINDICATION OF GOVERNOR PARR AND HIS COUNCIL,  
AGAINST THE COMPLAINTS OF CERTAIN PERSONS.  
By a Gentleman of Halifax (London, 1784)..... 98

REMARKS ON A LATE PAMPHLET ENTITLED A VINDI-  
CATION OF GOVERNOR PARR, AND HIS COUNCIL, &c.  
By a Consistent Loyalist. (London, 1784).  
[The Advertisement is dated at Leicester-Fields,  
August 19, 1784]..... 110

DR. INGLIS'S DEFENCE OF HIS CHARACTER, AGAINST  
CERTAIN FALSE AND MALICIOUS CHARGES. (London,  
1784) [Dated at the end: November 20]..... 128



# A SERMON,

PREACHED AT

Litchfield, in Connecticut,

Before a voluntary CONVENTION of the

CLERGY of the CHURCH of ENGLAND

o F

Several Provinces in AMERICA,

JUNE 13, 1770.

By the Rev. SAMUEL PETERS, A. M. of HEBRON.

Ut novissima conferam primis.

Cic.

Me abs te immerito esse accusatum reficiens.

Tir.

Athenæ sub regibus esse defuerunt.

Patr.

Aut aliquis latet error: quo ne credite, Teueri;

Quicquid id est, timore Danaos.

Vir.

St. MATTHEW, Chap. xvi. Ver. 6.

*Take heed and beware of the Leaven of the Pharisees and of the Sadducees.*

THE Religion of Jesus Christ is friendly to civil Government, advantageous to every age, prohibits nothing but Immorality; it enjoins Obedience to the King as Supreme, and publishes on Earth Peace and Good-Will among Men; while the Leaven of the Pharisee aims to frustrate every office of Love, and disunite the World: for which reason, our High-Priest and common Redeemer warned his disciples to take heed and beware of the doctrines

Published with NOTES, to gratify the very respectable Assembly before whom it was delivered, and a Copy given, JULY 1770.



( 4 )

trines of those men, which supplanted the Power of God-lines, by crying up with zeal Forms and Trifles to expiate Wickedness by Force of Superstition. Christ upbraided those people not barely for their exactness in tything Mint, Annis, and Cummyn, but for neglecting the weightier matters of the Law, Justice, Mercy, and Faith; and because they had rendered void the Commandments of God, by their Traditions, in legitimizing Hypocrisy, inward Impurities, feigned Prayers, and Destruction of Widows Houses.

If we survey the Character of the Pharisees and Sadducees, we shall find them meeting in the two extremes; one judging itself bound to persecute all who differ in opinion from a supposed standard; the other, as if born in some frigid zone, seemed unaffected with the power and charm of Religion, and wholly indifferent about its doctrines, provided they once in seven days wore a Jewish sabbatic devotion.—The radical error of the first class lies in a confident presumption of their own infallible judgment; therefore zealously blind, they give the dissenters from them liberty to conform or burn. The error of the second class originates from a distrust of the Divinity of Christ; hence they live without faith, and the former without Charity.—To avoid those two dangerous extremes, which have long divided this world, let us copy the behaviour of Christ towards the various sects among the Jews.

The Essenes were numerous, and held many fantastical opinions, yet we find no reflections made on them; while the Pharisees and Sadducees were severely and justly exposed on all occasions.—Behold the reason:—The Essenes, though mistaken in many things, were sincere

( 5 )

sincere and harmless, quiet and peaceable, contented and easy to enjoy their own consciences, and to let other men, alone: they pretended not to be infallible and tumultuous, sought not after the Dictator's Chair, nor the sole government of the World: they neither planned nor executed mischief against the constitution; but were humble, modest, and obedient to the laws. This good disposition rendered them capable of being led from their mistaken opinions; while the Pharisees and Sadducees were arrogant and self-sufficient, inflamed captives to their own imagined perceptions, too wise to learn, too sanctimonious to receive instruction; subtle, fly, crafty, insidious projectors; men who would reign and tyrannize, or by their golden cry of Liberty set the world on fire:—therefore, of their Hypocrisy take heed and beware.

92

In the beginning of the chapter is pointed out the reason of this important and necessary caution. Those two sects had hitherto been at enmity one with the other, like their masters Herod and Pilate, yet they became friends in a conspiracy against the “ Israelite in whom was no Guile.” Having put on a solemn Demureness, (the common livery of Hypocrites,) and pretending themselves strangers to all the miracles wrought by Christ, they addressed him with “ Master, we wish to see a sign from thee;” and very likely their petition was delivered with a tone, not to find conviction, but as a varnish to their infidelity, as they asked a sign from heaven which they thought would not be given. Christ, knowing their design, exposed their false pretensions by pronouncing a truth, which for once silenced a gainfaying people, viz. “ An adulterous and wicked generation seeketh after a sign from Heaven, and there shall no sign be given to it, but the sign of the Prophet



phet Jonas : " then, turning to his Disciples, said, " Take heed and beware of the Arts and Hypocrisy of those men." Hence we learn, that Men's Principles guide their Actions ; that, if the Tree is good, the Fruit will be also good ; and that evil Opinions are productive of evil Practices. As to the Sadducees, they denied the Existence of Angels and Spirits, and taught, that Matter was the only Composition of the Universe ; they denied also the Immortality of the Soul, the Resurrection of the Body, and a future Life ; they idolized the Letter, and mistook the Spirit, of the Law of Moses : but the Pharisees held Opinions opposite to them, and extolled oral Doctrines equal to the Law and Prophets, whereby their Greed varied every day, and their Devotion was muffled with new Rights and Ceremonies, totally different from their Neighbours. The event was truly melancholy : one Sect had too much Faith, the other had none : one had no Religion, no Charity ; the other despised Morality, and depended on Faith. The Leaven or Art of those Men was calculated only for this mortal Life, where Temptation is in all its Pomp ; it had no Cure for a Sigh, no Balm for a wounded Heart, except what the Law of Moses, in the Sense of a provincial Code, afforded. This Leaven induced men to comply with such Customs and Sentiments as were most prevalent, in order to secure to themselves temporal Interest and Dignity ; and by it we find they did succeed ; for the High Priest, and all the Council of the Jews, were of the Leaven. *Acts v. 1.*

Those men, by their Conduct, appear to be Descendants of Cain and Nimrod : for the meek Preacher of Righteousness styles them a Generation of Vipers ; and St. Jude calls them filthy Dreamers, empty Clouds, wandering Stars, raging Waves, foaming out their own Shame, despising

spising Dominion in others, and speaking evil of *Dignities*. A People thus disposed ought not to be trusted, seeing that they contemn the Law of Liberty wherewith Christ has made us free : yet, to the Astonishment of Historians, they have too often secured to themselves the Admiration, if not the Government, of the World, by their insincere and sanctimonious Pretensions ; while the peaceful, meek, and truly pious men have been neglected and set at nought.

Having thus far pointed out the Character of the Pharisees and Sadducees, and the great Propriety of the Caution given in the Text, it appears to be the Duty of the Ambassadors of Christ, in all Ages and in all Countries, to warn the Multitude against the Leaven of such designing men : for Leaven is no less infectious now than it was two thousand years ago ; nor is it less baneful in America, than it has been in Africa, Europe, and Asia. Of old it owned no Superior, nor Equal ; therefore would not suffer Christ to reign. Those Sects were ever jealous, and fearful lest they should lose *their Liberty of governing* : they were constant Fautors of Persecution ; for, when they perceived the Prevalence of the Humility, the Kindness, and the peaceable Doctrines of Christ, they artfully alarmed the Multitude with what they themselves had no fear of, viz. " If this Man is let alone, all men will believe on him, and the Romans will come in and take away our Place and Nation." This patriotic Pretence then succeeded with the Multitude, who soon preferred Barabbas to their Saviour and Defender \*. The Leaven, having killed the Lord of Life, soon spread and pervaded all States and Kingdoms, over-

\* Here is a remarkable Proof that the *Vox Populi* is not always the Voice of Justice.



threw mighty Kings, and deluged the Earth with human Blood.—As soon as Christianity found its way to these western Climes, the Leaven, infusing the Lust of Dominion and Liberty, appeared also; where, in verity, as in the Eastern World, it has warred against the Doctrines of Christ, and his Law of Liberty, with great Success; and Christianity, after struggling many years, seems to have lost its Reputation, and is giving Way to human Policy, and is likely to be banished from America, now half-ready to act a Part which will disgrace the dead, entail War on ourselves, and Misery on our Children.

Alas, my native Country! thy best Days are expiring ---thy glorious Sun of Liberty is setting---thy Virtue is dying!—Yet how can I give thee up? Thou hast been unto me very pleasant; I will therefore seek to do thee good—I will weep Day and Night for the Transgressions of the People, and pray for the Peace of Jerusalem.

I am no Politician, though I have long heard the Cry of Law, Constitution, and Liberty; but if the *Liberi* mean Liberty to worship God in the Beauty of Holiness, or according to the Law of Liberty wherewith Christ has made us free, then may Heaven maintain their Cause! But, if they mean by their Cry to hold the King's Protection, without yielding Obedience to his Authority and the British Parliament, I would remind them of the Charters by which we claim a legal Title to our Lands, and the Rights of English Subjects---Gifts and Privileges made to our Fathers, and us their Heirs, on Condition “ of Obedience to the Laws of England, which now are or hereafter shall be made”—(Vide Connecticut Charter, dated 1662)— Words tantamount to the late obnoxious Clause, which

which asserts the Supremacy of the British Parliament over the Colonies, in all Cases whatever; a Doctrine owned by our Fathers, and by all even in the present Day, except in the instance of Taxation; which Exception seems trifling, after granting that our Lives [not our Money] may be taken away by a British Act of Parliament.—Our Fathers, though led by the great Charm of Liberty, never claimed Independence on the Crown of England; nor did the Israelites, in the Wilderness, make themselves a Calf, until Moses had delivered them out of Egypt, and left them under the Guidance of Aaron\*. It is wonderful that Princes, in these last Ages of the World, have not learned the Science of preventing Evils, from the History of former Times, especially from the Story of the Calf. However, Aaron excused himself by telling Moses, “Thou knowest the People, that they are set on Mischief; for they said unto me, Make us Gods which shall go before us; for as for this Moses, the man who brought us up out of the Land of Egypt, we know not what is become of him.” Exod. xxxii.

We who are stigmatized with being Sons of Issachar, and Essenes in Perfection, have a plentiful Crop of misery to gather in, if we credit the Sermons and Declarations of the multiformed Sects of Protestant-protesting Affiliates, who have assumed a self-constituted Power of nullifying Acts of Parliament and the Statutes of this Colony. How far they have succeeded in the latter Case, we already know; but the former is yet pending on the Concoronation of the Civil Magistrate and the Ecclesiastic Confessions.—However, as Charity hopes all things, and the

\* Canada was taken 1759.  
B



General Assembly has adjudged as treasonable the revolutionary Principles of the Wallingsford Associates and the Bill-of-Rights-men, who took the Liberty, by help of their strolling Fancies, to abrogate the County Courts, and to pay their honest Debts, with the Cry of legal Resistance, we may logically conclude they will not legalize Resistance against the Supreme Power of the Nation, after declaring Resistance against colonial Laws illegal and treasonable. But, should Matters turn out contrary to our Prayers and peaceable Endeavours, we must either adopt the Policy prevalent at Benin \*, to secure Polish and Venetian Liberty †, with Madagascar Divinity ‡, or fight the good Fight of Faith, and war a good Warfare against spiritual Wickedness in high Places. How soon this may be put to our Choice, must be left to the God of Order. In the mean time, I must hint to you, without a prophetic Spirit, the Part allotted to you and every loyal Subject between the Rivers Delawar and Kennebeck : for the Children of Sardis dream not of expiating the Sin of their Souls by the Fruit of their Bodies, knowing that sincere Love to the Lord, and faithful Obedience to the King, is the Englishman's Liberty ; a Protestant Virtue, the strait Road to true and generous Christianity : they also know Religion to be worthy of a serious Consideration, a perfect Knowledge, a

Part allotted to you and every loyal Subject between the Rivers Delawar and Kennebeck : for the Children of Sardis dream not of expiating the Sin of their Souls by the Fruit of their Bodies, knowing that sincere Love to the Lord, and faithful Obedience to the King, is the Englishman's Liberty ; a Protestant Virtue, the strait Road to true and generous Christianity : they also know Religion to be worthy of a serious Consideration, a perfect Knowledge, a

\* *Les Peuples de Benin reconnaissent un Dieu, qu'ils croient inutile de servir parcequ'il est bon ; aussi tous leurs Sacrifices sont ils offerts au diable pour appaiser sa malice.*

† *The Pealants of Poland enjoy the Liberty of being Slaves to their Lords, who exercise over them the Power of Life and Death without a Jury : and in Venice the Priés cannot meet but in the Broglie, and there only may speak of Business. Other People have no other Liberty in the Government of this Republic, but to obey.*

‡ *Les Peuples de Madagascar n'ont aucun temple ni autre divinité connus, qu'un insecte, qui est une espèce de Grillon.*

( 11 ) everlasting Devotion ; and that men are nearest to their God, when they can best vindicate themselves to themselves.

Were we less friendly to America, or the King's supremacy, which is the Bulwark of Protestantism, than our Dissenting Brethren are, we should not have more Reason to complain of Grievances peculiar to the Church of England in America, than they and all other Sects of Christians in the whole World \* ; or, had we crossed a briny Ocean to import episcopal Tyranny †, under a pious Pretence of civilizing and christianizing Dissenters, at the Expence of their Liberty and Property, which they hold more sacred than Loyalty and Ordination ‡, we might have expected the Fate of our Fathers, who expelled the

\* Papists secure Government by swearing that the Pope has no civil Jurisdiction in the English Dominions ; American Dissenters are infallible Teachers without swearing Obedience to the English King ; yet these Sects have their Bishops and Synods, and other Rights necessary for their respective Systems : while the Protestant Episcopians, who are one-third Part of British America, swear Obedience to the King, and abjure the civil and ecclesiastical Power of the Pope ; and, after all, are denied a resident Bishop by their Protestant King, and the Liberty of obeying God and the Constitution by their own Countrymen.—Let common Sense determine who has most Reason to complain of Grievances, among Protestants, Papists, or Dissenters, in America.

† Dr. Bellamy, in his Sermon before the General Assembly of Connecticut, said, “ Episcopacy was like a Cancer deep rooted already, and was daily increasing, by the golden Influence of an English propagating Society, over our ambitious Sons, who are frequently crossing a briny Deep to import prelatic Tyranny, which our Fathers could not bear, and which threatens speedy Ruin to our American Vine. To our nursing Fathers we look for Protection against the Arts of those little Foxes. The Ax must be laid to the Root of the Tree, lest Iniquity should abound in Israel.”

‡ Mr. Birdseye, in his Sermon before the College in Newhaven, said, “ That Ordination, which so many of you are seeking after, on the other Side of the Atlantic, is but the greasy Hand of a drunken Bishop.”



Natives from the fertile Banks of Connecticut into a dreary Wilderness, a forlorn Home, by similar Pretences. Since our Crime consists only in not being Dissenters from the Church of England, and in wishing to have a Bishop resident among us on such Terms as cannot be detrimental to the Rights of Anabaptists, Papists, Moravians, and other Dissenters, and which have been candidly laid before the Public<sup>\*</sup>; our Religion has taught us to hope for forgiveness in claiming such Liberties as we have freely given to others.

I must say, that no Reason can be assigned why the People, who claim the greatest Liberties for themselves, should at the same time compass Sea and Land to deprive others of their civil, natural, and religious Liberties †:— but so it is;—and if we fear God, and honour the King, we shall patiently submit to this hard Lot of ours, until our Prayers and Tears prevail; for our Religion is not carnal; it affords no Comfort to the wicked, nor Pardon to the rebellious, but on Repentance; and no Repentance but on real Amendment of Life. All who cannot conform to this Rule, must not be of our Communion; yet, with Safety to their worldly Interest, they may join the Leaven which prevails in Rome, the holy City, and claims Dominion in America, where Christ is King elect † without Authority. Since we are required to believe the Miller, D.D. Rector of Elizabeth-Town, New-Jersey.

- Vide the Candid Appeal to the Public, by Thomas Bradbury Chandler, D.D. Rector of Elizabeth-Town, New-Jersey.
- † Vide Dr. Wheelock's Narrative of Indian Affairs;—a Plan which is designed against the King and Parliament of Great-Britain, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and Sir William Johnson, who at present are said to have too great an Influence over the Mohawks, and other Indians, for the Safety of New-England Liberties.
- † It is a Maxim among those who style themselves Saints of the Earth, that “Christ is King; but his Church is governed by his People.”

lenarians in this howling Wilderness\*, we have a Right to expect Doctrines and Practices agreeable to Christ's peaceful Reign; but, as the contrary appears every Day more and more, we have Reason to fear that they are using Liberty for a Cloak of Maliciousness, and not as Subjects to their King elect, whose Laws as little please †, as those of George, our righteous King.

Was natural or religious Liberty the Object of the Committees of Inspection, formed from the Mississippi to St. Laurence †, we should before this Day have seen the Slave, stolen from his native Country, discharged from his unpitied Loads and agonizing Groans, to taste the Sweets of Nature's Law; an Indulgence which Humanity and Christianity have given to all, while Defenders of Liberty take the Liberty of denying it to all §. To plead the Constitution, and the written Laws of God, in behalf of real

- *Howling Wilderness* is a Term used in New-England, in allusion to the miraculous Salvation of the first Emigrants, who adopted it in compliment to the Israelites of old—or themselves.
- † The President and Socii of the College in Connecticut voted that the Bible was improper to be read publicly in Meeting-Houses on the Sabbath-Day.

† In 1764 a general Meeting of Protestant Dissenters was held at Newhaven in Connecticut, from many Provinces, to form a Plan that might preserve the civil and religious Liberties of America against the Incroachments or Growth of the Church of England, and to propagate saving Knowledge among the Heathen in the dark Corner of this howling Wilderness.

§ America has the Honour of dealing in human Flesh; of plundering and extirpating the Aborigines of the Country; of stealing and receiving stolen Blacks from the Coasts of Africa; of using them with more than savage Barbarity, not under the same Pretence that Nimrod hunted Men, but under a pious Pretence of Christianizing and bestowing on them natural and civil Liberty; --- glorious Pretence, but most infamously execrated!]

lenarians



Liberty, is all in vain; for their Spirit has overcome the Letter, and taught a Freedom which has neither Bit nor Bridle. Whoever adopts this Freedom as the Law of Liberty, will crown his King with Thorns, and introduce Anarchy, the Beggar's Rise, but the Rich Man's Fall. To prevent such an unhappy Confusion taking Place in this young and flourishing Country, which but a few years ago was over-run by wild Nations leagued with our Enemies, to ravage and scalp the unhappy Traveller, is the duty, and ought to be the aim, of every Protestant Nation and Minister; and, should our Endeavours, our fervent Love for America, our Gratitude and Loyalty to the House of Hanover, our great Deliverer, prove ineffectual — then let us hang our Harps on the Willows and weep. Should the World arm against us, let us not be dismayed, but persevere in our sacred Vocation, and contend earnestly for *the Faith delivered to the Saints*: hereby our Light will shine before Men, though we may be spoiled of our Goods, exiled from our native Home, and killed. Should our Faith equal our Profession, we shall not faint in the Day of Trial, because we are Soldiers of the Cross, and have Promises of a better Life.

with his Frowns: therefore, let us grow in Grace, and hold fast the Form of sound Words; let us feed the Lambs, let us feed the Sheep, with the Glories of the everlasting Covenant, and the great Mystery of Redemption; let us dwell on the Excellencies of Emmanuel, and on moral Virtue; in a word, let us propagate the Doctrines of the Cross, and be of good Cheer, seeing that Faith and Perseverance have overcome the World.

*Let the Priests of the Lord, let holy and humble Men of Heart, let all the Children of Men, bless the Lord, and magnify him for ever; because the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth, and shall for ever reign!*

### F I N I S.

I have Confidence in you all, that, though some weak Disciples may decline our Communion, and go away, yet you will wisely consider to whom we shall go, seeing that we have for our Guide the Words of eternal Life.

*My Reverend Brethren*, you cannot be unwilling to part with such Godlinefs as is worldly Gain, when you consider the Certainty and Solemnity of a Reckoning-Day, when you must give an Account of your Stewardship, either to be blessed with the Smiles of your Judge, or be ruined with



*2 Beta Lubbock's Book Novel*

VINDICATION  
OF  
GOVERNOR PARR  
AND HIS  
COUNCIL,  
AGAINST THE

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

WILLIAM PIT'T,

Fifth Lord of the Treasury, &c. &c.,

AGAINST THE

Complaints of certain Persons,

Who sought to engross 275,000 Acres of Land in Nova Scotia, at the  
Expense of Government, and to the great Prejudice of the Pro-  
vinces and Loyalists in general.

Founded on various authentic LETTERS and PAPERS,  
herein inferred.

By a GENTLEMAN of HALIFAX. *A. S. or J. L.  
who the author  
is ——————*  
QUAM REM VITIO DENT, QUESO, ANIMADVERTE.

TR. AND.

A LOYALIST OF NOVA SCOTIA.

London:

PRINTED FOR JOHN STOCKDALE,

OPPOSITE BURLINGTON-HOUSE, PICCADILLY.  
M,DCC,LXXXIV.



# V I N D I C A T I O N,

*&c.*

**A** Letter, said to be from Nova Scotia, having appeared in the Morning Chronicle of June 21, 1784, representing Governor Parr, the Chief Justice, and the Members of the Council, to be *weak, ignorant, and designing men*, the affairs of the province unskillfully managed, and the new settlements discouraged, has made the following publication necessary, that Government and the Public may not be misled by bold and unsupported charges from a Junto spread in England, Nova Scotia, and the United States of America. This Junto is composed of fifty-five *visible persons*, "of the most respectable characters, who have *"constantly had great influence in his Majesty's American dominions,"* [if credit is to be given to their own declarations in their letter to Sir Guy Carleton, No. II.] and an *invisible Company*, of "*deeper art and keener policy.*"

B

The

( 7 )

am to recommend to your favour and protection Messrs. Amos Boisford, Cummings, and Hauser, Agents for the Loyalists, as well for those that go this autumn as for those that follow after (more perfect list of whose names, and the number of each family, as far as can now be ascertained, they will have the honour to present): and I am to desire you, Sir, to give them the necessary assistance in exploring the country, in order that they may be able to fix on proper places for settlements; and for this end it will be necessary also, I presume, that they should have such access to the Records of the Province as may be just and proper. Their expectation is, that they shall be accommodated with such tracts of unappropriated lands as they shall chuse to settle in, and 5 or 600 acres be granted to a family, and 300 to a single man. You will find likewise, that provision will be made by the Agents for grants of land for the use of the Church, and for Schools; and that it will be desired that 2000 acres may be appropriated to the former, and 1000 to the latter; which I cannot but very earnestly recommend.

These persons are to be considered as real efficient settlers, already acquainted with all the necessary arts of culture, and habituated to settlements of the like kind; and who, independent of their just claims, will bring a large accession of strength, as well as of population, into the province. And as they have merited much by their exertions in support of Government, so they will not only, in my judgment, be well entitled to grants now defired (exonerated of all present and future pecuniary demands), but to all such advantages of every sort as may have hitherto been promised, by Proclamation or otherwise, to persons invited to settle in that province.

I am to inform you, Sir, that it is my intention to furnish those who mean to pass into your province this fall with as many necessaries and accommodations of every kind as I shall be able, in order to support them during the winter; and I am further, Sir, earnestly to recommend them to your consideration for such other aid and support as they can only locally obtain; I mean, more particularly, materials for building, and the aid of such workmen, as, in so just a cause, and so strongly recommended from home, your own zeal will enable you to supply.—For the rest, I must refer you, Sir, to those gentlemen

The foundation of, perhaps, all the complaints against Governor Parr, and the Council of Nova Scotia, will appear to originate from the disappointment of the Junto, who ungenerously and privately deserted the original proposals of the whole body of Loyalists, and endeavoured to engross to themselves a disproportionate and an unmerited share, in the lands allotted by Government for the benefit of the whole.

The following letter from Sir Guy Carleton to Sir Andrew Snape Hammond states the expectations of the Loyalists in common;

No. I.

S I R,

New-York, 22 September, 1782.

IN conformity to the observations I had made in my letter of the 25th ult. concerning the Refugees here, and their just claims upon the public for grants of unoccupied lands in any part of the empire, and likewise to those communications which have been made me of his Majesty's gracious intentions in this respect, and with which, I presume, you have also been made acquainted; I now inclose a list of such families or individuals as, relinquishing all hopes of repossessing their former property in the revolted provinces, are desirous of emigrating into Nova Scotia, and of accepting there such grants of land as the present condition of the province will enable you to grant; and which, considered as well-founded claims of justice, rather than of mere favour, it is their very reasonable expectation should be done without payment of any fees, or any reservation of quit-rents, or any pecuniary obligations whatever.

I am given to understand, that upwards of 600 persons (women and children inclusive) are desirous of embarking from hence this autumn, and a much larger number the ensuing spring; but I do not think I shall be able to accommodate with shipping, &c. above 300 persons. In the mean time, I

am



( 8 )

gentlemen already named, who will acquaint you more at large of the views and expectations of their employers.

I am, Sir, your most obedient,  
And most humble servant,

A true Copy.  
M. MORCAN, Secretary.

Sir Andrew Snape Hamond, &c. &c.  
Halifax,

This letter was delivered by Mess. Botsford, Cummings, and Hauler, Agents for the whole body of Loyalists, to explore the lands, and conduct their interest in Nova Scotia, and to correspond with their Committee at New-York, viz. Rev. Mess. S. Seabury and John Sayre; Sampson S. Blowers, Samuel Hake, John Dole, George Leonard, Esqrs. and others.—The same year, 1782, Major Ward sailed from New-York with 300 emigrants to Nova Scotia.

The affairs at Nova Scotia and New-York went on黯ly among the Loyalists till August 1783, when it was discovered that the Rev. John Sayre, with fifty-four other persons, had privately presented to Sir Guy Carleton the following letter :

### No. II.

S I R  
New-York, July 22, 1783.  
YOUR Excellency's kind attention and offers of your support to us demand our warmest thanks, which we beg the favour of you to accept.

The unhappy termination of the war obliges us, who have ever been steady in our duty, as loyal subjects, to leave our homes; and being desirous of continuing to enjoy the benefits of the British

( 9 )

British constitution, we mean to seek an asylum in the province of Nova Scotia.

Considering our several characters, and our former situation in life, we trust you will perceive that our circumstances will probably be the contrast to which they have been heretofore; especially as, from our respective occupations, we shall be unable personally to obtain the means of a tolerably decent support; unless your Excellency shall be pleased to countenance us by your recommendation in the following proposals; which are, with the utmost deference, submitted for your Excellency's consideration.

1. That a tract or tracts of land, free from disputed titles, be laid out for us in Nova Scotia, in such part of that province as one or more gentlemen, whom we propose to send forward for that purpose, being first approved of by your Excellency, shall pitch upon for us.
2. That this tract be sufficient to put us on the same footing with field-officers in his Majesty's army, with respect to the number of acres.
3. That, if possible, these lands may be exonerated of quit-rents.
4. That they be surveyed and divided at the expence of Government, and the deeds delivered to us as soon as possible, remitting the fees of office.

5. That, while we make this application to your Excellency, we wish not to be understood as soliciting a compensation for the losses we have sustained during the war, because we are humbly of opinion, that the settling of such a number of Loyalists of the most respectable characters, who have constantly had great influence in his Majesty's American dominions, will be highly advantageous in diffusing and supporting a spirit of attachment to the British constitution, as well as to his Majesty's royal person and family.

We have only to add our earnest request of your Excellency's aid and support in carrying this matter into execution, as soon as it shall comport with your leisure; and to assure your Excellency,

( 10 )

lency, that we are, with great respect, your Excellency's most humble and most obedient servants,

Signed by

Addison, Henry	Lutwyche, E. G.
Anderson, James	Longworth, Isaac
Billopp, Christopher	Maudslay, John
Bell, Andrew	Moore, John
Barrell, Colban	Peters, James
Blane, Thomas	Peters, Henry
Boudin, John	Panton, George
Bannister, Thomas	Pets, John
Campbell, Colin	Roome, John Le Chev,
Campbell, William	Seabury, David
Camp, Abiah	Seaman, Richard
Crannell, Bartholomew	Sayre, Benjamin
Chandler, Rufus	Sayre, James
Chandler, Nathaniel	Sayre, John
Coffin, Nathaniel	Skinner, Stephen
Challoner, Walter	Smith, John
Clarke, James	Stewart, Anthony
Chipman, Ward	Taylor, Joseph
Cortelyou, Aaron	Taylor, William
Davis, Benjamin	Taylor, Joseph
Donaldson, Samuel	Taylor, William
Fenley, James	Taylor, George
Goldberry, Samuel	Watson, John
Henderdon, Hugh	Wanton, William
Horsfield, Thomas	Wilkins, Isaac
Inglin, Charles	Willard, Abijah
Knot, Thomas	Willard, Abel.
Livingston, P. J.	

Upon this letter, Sir Guy Carleton wrote to Governor Parr in the manner most agreeable to the fifty-five signers, recommending the following persons, the Rev. John Sayre, and Anthony Stewart, Philip J. Livingston, and Nathaniel Chandler, to Governor



vernor Parr, as Agents to the Fifty-five, who were recommended also for 5000 acres each, and to the privilege of locating their lands wherever they pleased. These Agents sailed from Sandy Hook, August 8th, 1783, to Nova Scotia, leaving at New-York Thomas Knox and William Taylor, a Committee of Correspondence. The Loyalists about this time discovered the art and designs of the Fifty-five : a meeting of them was held immediately ; when they agreed upon, and appointed a Committee, viz. S. Hake, E. Hardy, Esqrs. Capt. H. Law, and Mr. T. Dickenson, to present a Memorial to the Commander in Chief, of which the following is a copy :

## No. III.

To His Excellency Sir GUY CARLETON, Knight of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, General and Commander in Chief, &c. &c.

The Memorial of the Subscribers

Humbly sheweth;

THAT your Memorialists, having been deprived of very valuable landed estates, and considerable personal properties, without the lines, and being also obliged to abandon their possessions in this city, on account of their loyalty to their Sovereign, and attachment to the British constitution, and seeing no prospect of their being reinstated, had determined to remove with their families, and settle in his Majesty's province of Nova-Scotia, on the terms which they understood were held out *equally* to all his Majesty's persecuted subjects.

That your Memorialists are much alarmed at an application which they are informed Fifty-five persons have joined in to your Excellency, soliciting a recommendation for tracts of land in that province, amounting together to *two hundred and seventy-five thousand acres*, and that they have dispatched forward Agents to survey the unlocated lands, and select the most fertile spots and desirable situations.

That,

## No. IV.

To this Memorial His Excellency Sir Guy Carleton was pleased to return an answer to the following effect :

THAT his Excellency, within these few days, has had reason to believe that *one person* will obtain a larger grant of lands in Nova Scotia than one thousand acres—That the power of issuing patents for lands there resides solely in the Governor, to whom his Excellency will immediately forward the Memorial, which he apprehends will arrive before patent can be made out for the tract of land mentioned in it—And that it was his opinion no persons should be allowed to take up lands in that province, but those who mean to reside there, till the Loyalists are first served; and that his Excellency will do every thing in his power for the Memorialists, and believes they will have no cause to complain.

The Committee were also informed, from the most respectable authority, that the report of all the lands being occupied about Port Roseway was groundless; Governor Parr, who was extremely solicitous to do justice to every individual, having made a reserve of a sufficient quantity of lands there, for the accommodation of those Loyalists who still proposed to embark for that place.

From this Answer of Sir Guy Carleton to their Memorial, the Loyalists had reason to hope that the cruel designs of the Fifty-five “most respectable charlatans” would give way to the interest of the whole body of their suffering brethren : but they soon found there was no favour to be expected from the generosity and justice of the Fifty-five, who pursued their object with an eagerness that few of them ever shewed in behalf of his Majesty's government and service.

The following Journal of their Agents in Nova Scotia shews their activity and zeal in the important business;

C

That, chagrined as your Memorialists are at the manner in which the laic course has been terminated, and disappointed as they find themselves in being left to the lenity of their enemies, on the dubious recommendation of their leaders, they yet hoped to find an asylum under British protection, little suspecting there could be found, among their fellow-sufferers, persons ungenerous enough to attempt engrossing to themselves so disproportionate a share of what Government has allotted for their common benefit, and so different from the original proposals.

That your Memorialists apprehend some misrepresentations have been used to procure such extraordinary recommendations, the applications for which have been most studiously concealed, until now that they boast its being too late to prevent the effect. Nor does it lessen your Memorialists surprize to observe, that the persons concerned (several of whom are said to be going to Britain) are most of them in easy circumstances, and, with some exceptions, more distinguished by the repeated favours of Government, than by either the greatness of their sufferings, or the importance of their services.

That your Memorialists cannot but regard the grants in question, if carried into effect, as amounting nearly to a total exclusion of themselves and families, who, if they become settlers, must either content themselves with barren or remote lands, or submit to be tenants to those, most of whom they consider as their superiors in nothing but deeper art and keener policy.—Thus circumstanced,

Your Memorialists humbly implore redress from your Excellency, and that enquiry may be made into their respective losses, services, situations, and sufferings ; and if your Memorialists shall be found equally entitled to the favour and protection of Government with the former applicants, that they may be all put on an equal footing ; but should those who first applied be found, on a fair and candid enquiry, more deserving than your Memorialists, then your Memorialists humbly request that the locating their extensive grants may at least be postponed, until your Memorialists have taken up such small portions as may be allotted to them.

And your Memorialists, as in duty bound, shall ever pray, &c.

New-York, Aug. 15, 1783.

Signed by SAMUEL HAKE, and above 600 others.  
To



( 14 )

business of obtaining five thousand acres to the use of each member of the associated Fifty-five "most re-spectable characters."

*A Journal of the Proceedings of the Agents for the Associated Loyalists, from the 8th day of August to the 24th, day of September, 1783.*

JOHN SAYRE, Philip J. Livingston, and Nathaniel Chandler, left Sandy-Hook on Friday the 8th day of August, and arrived at Annapolis the 17th.—They forwarded, by the Grand Duchess of Russia, Captain Holman, a letter to Thomas Knox and William-Taylor, Esqrs. Committee of Correspondence at New-York, which was in the words following:

GENTLEMEN, *Annapolis, August 19, 1783.*  
WE have the pleasure to inform you, that we arrived here on Sunday last, after a passage of ten days, having left Sandy-Hook the 8th instant, and that we shall proceed to-morrow on our way to Halifax. As Mr. Sayre is going to St. John's, and does not expect to return to this place on public business within a fortnight, and as we entertain no hopes of seeing Mr. Stewart at Halifax within the above time, we have thought it advisable for our mutual interest, agreeable to the powers of substitution delegated to us, to solicit the Honourable Stephen Skinner, Esquire, to be a joint Agent with us in the important trust committed to our care, which he has been pleased to accept of until his return to New-York. We have done this from a conviction that the measure will be perfectly agreeable to the Association, and that no delays but such as are unavoidable should be suffered in the prosecution of an enquiry which, we hope, will prove of great benefit to us all.

We are, Gentlemen, with due respect and regard,  
Your most obedient humble servants,

PHILIP J. LIVINGSTON.  
NATHANIEL CHANDLER.  
JOHN SAYRE.

Thomas Knox and William Taylor, Esqrs.  
Committee of Correspondence to Associated Loyalists.

Stephen

Province. Your Memorialists, for the above reasons, with all deference, humbly request that your Excellency will be pleased to direct that a tract or tracts of vacant land may be located for them in the proportion of *five thousand acres* to each of them, with the usual allowance for waste land, and land covered with water. That the quantity of land prayed for may be assigned them in the Bay of St. Mary, extending on each side the river Sisiboo into the back country, and towards a great lake lying between Port Roseway and the said Bay of St. Mary, until the quantity prayed for shall be completed, or such part thereof as shall be found vacant, situated as above-mentioned; and, in case of a deficiency of land in the Bay of St. Mary as above-mentioned, that they may be favoured with your Excellency's orders to locate the residue in any other part of the province where vacant lands may be found. That the tract or tracts of land so located, may be exonerated of quit-rents, surveyed, divided, and granted to them, in like manner as lands are granted to other his Majesty's loyal subjects in the like circumstances. Your Memorialists, istrengthening your Excellency's favorable regard to this earnest petition, as in duty bound, shall ever pray.

Signed PHILIP J. LIVINGSTON.  
NATHANIEL CHANDLER.  
*Halifax, August 28th, 1783.*

1783.

On Friday the 29th, in the presence of Charles Morris, Esq; Surveyor-General, and Richard Buckley, Esq; Secretary of the Province, his Excellency Governor Parr signified in writing, at the foot of the Petition, his approbation of the same, and directed a warrant of survey pursuant thereto.—On Saturday the 30th, a warrant of survey was delivered to the Surveyor General and is in the words following:

JOHN PARR, Esquire, Captain-General and Governor in and over his Majesty's Province of Nova-Scotia and its Dependencies; Vice-Admiral of the same; &c. &c. &c. to Charles Morris, Esq; Chief Surveyor of Land.

YOU are forthwith, by yourself or your Deputy, to adenasure and lay out Anthony Stewart, Nathaniel Chandler, John Sayre, Philip J. Livingston, &c. &c. &c. each a plantation containing *five thousand acres* of land, upon St. Mary's Bay, the river Sisiboo, and the land adjacent, observing that they do

( 15 )

Stephen Skinner, Philip J. Livingston, and Nathaniel Chandler, left Annapolis on Wednesday the 20th of August, and arrived at Halifax, after a journey of 130 miles, on Sunday the 24th, about twelve o'clock; the Reverend John Sayre intending to embark from Annapolis, with Captain Holman, for St. John's River, with his family, when they left it.—On August 24, the day of our arrival, delivered the recommendatory letter, his Excellency Sir Guy Carleton was pleased to favour us with, to his Excellency Governor Parr, who was pleased to express his earnest desires to serve us in the business of our appointment.—On Thursday the 28th, presented to his Excellency Governor Parr a Memorial in behalf of the Association, in the words following, viz.

To his Excellency JOHN PARR, Esquire, Captain-General and Governor, &c.

The Memorial and Petition of Anthony Stewart, Nathaniel Chandler, John Sayre, and Philip J. Livingston, in behalf of themselves, and as attorneys to Abijah Willard, and 50 others,

Humbly sheweth to your Excellency,

THAT the unhappy termination of the war in America will soon compel your Memorialists, who have ever been steady in their loyalty to the best of Sovereigns, and attachment to the British constitution, to seek an asylum in some part of his Majesty's dominions, leaving their property in the hands of their enemies. That under these hard circumstances, and with these views, your Memorialists beg leave to present themselves and their Associates to your Excellency; and to shew that their former characters and situations in life have been such as to make them feel the reverse of fortune which now awaits them with a poignancy of distress your Excellency's humane heart will more easily conceive than they can describe. That, under the patronage of his Excellency Sir Guy Carleton, and from a perfect conviction of your Excellency's well-known generous and cordial regard to all his Majesty's loyal subjects suffering by the late rebellion, your Memorialists embarked for this province, in the fullest confidence that every wished-for aid would be afforded them by your Excellency, in promoting all their reasonable views and expectations of obtaining a subsistence in this

C 2 province.



( 17 )

do not interfere with any other persons, and make a return, with your doings thereon, in the Secretary's office, within six months from the date hereof, with a plat or description thereto annexed; also to certify the nature and quality of said land, conformable to his Majesty's instructions: and for so doing this shall be your warrant. Given under my hand at Halifax, this 30th day of August, 1783.

Signed JOHN PARR.

On Monday, September 1, the Surveyor-General issued his warrant to his Deputy, John Biddle, Esq. conformable to the warrant received from his Excellency the Governor. Same day left Halifax, accompanied by John Biddle, as Surveyor of the land to be located. Being detained by rains on the road, did not reach Annapolis till Friday, about two o'clock P. M. being the 5th.—Saturday 6th, went to the township of Conway, about 18 miles from hence, in quest of Amos Botsford, Esq. with whom we were advised by the Surveyor-General to confer on the subject of our intended location.—returned to Annapolis in the evening, where we were detained by high winds and rain until Friday the 12th, when we set out for St. Mary's Bay across the township of Conway. Lodged this evening at the Basin, in Conway.—Saturday 13th, pursued our journey, and walked through an exceeding bad Indian path, and over a beach at the head of St. Mary's Bay, 18 miles, to Colonel Gilbert's.—Sunday 14th, drizzling bad weather, reached Sissiboo river, about six miles distant, at two o'clock P. M.—Monday 15th, went in a boat five miles to the Falls of Sissiboo river, landed and walked two miles beyond the Falls, and examined the country; where we found the lands high, and a great proportion of pine and spruce in the woods, some beech and maple, and the water too shallow to pass a small boat. The land below the Falls appears of a good quality, particularly the high lands, and contains a great proportion of hard wood, such as beech and maple, is well watered by small streams, and is navigable for small vessels to the Falls.—Tuesday 16, crossed the river to view the lands reserved for a town-plat, which we traversed in various directions, and found it every way suitable for this purpose, the bank not more, in general, than 20 feet in height, and in several places not more than 10, and convenient for

( 18 )

for building wharfs; the beach free from stones, and with a perfect good bottom, on which vessels may ground with safety. The tide rises in this river, in common, about 20 feet; the channel is narrow; and opposite the town-plat, and for some distance beyond, is from 14 to 18 feet deep at low water. The harbour secure against all winds but those of the South-east, and even against them is well sheltered by the adjoining hills and woods. Vessels thus circumstanced will always find a secure retreat on the opposite shore, at Sandy Cove. The breadth of the river at low-water mark is by computation 35 rods. This river has within it, and in the bay before its mouth, cod, pollock, lobsters, bass, trout, salmon, flounders, smelt, tom cod, and a fish called connor; rather superior to the sea-bass; with plenty of wild fowl in the season; and at its mouth a ledge of stones, which forms a basin sufficient to admit a great number of fishing-craft and small vessels, in which they may lie with perfect security during the winter season. This ledge is used by the fishermen to dry their cod on, and is said to be very excellent for that purpose. From the mouth of the river to the grand passage is 18 miles, esteemed excellent ground for cod-fish, and resorted to as such by the eastern colonists, as well as the fishermen of this bay and the bay of Fundy. The petit passage, distant nine miles, is also esteemed a good fishery, and, on account of its vicinity, is more frequented by the settlers of this bay. It must also be mentioned, that logs, so troublesome in the bay of Fundy, seldom infest this river, and are never known to continue a whole day.—Wednesday 17th, went up the river Sissiboo to Indian Creek, about two miles and an half from its mouth, stretched across the country to the Acadian settlements on the Bay of St. Mary, to examine the lands back of the town-plat. In this journey of about four miles, we found the lands generally good; the timber chiefly beech, birch, and maple.—Thursday 18th, walked six miles along the bay to the extent of the Acadian settlements; then struck into the woods, back of the settlements, between three and four miles; then walked parallel to the bay the same distance, and returned to the head of the settlements. This tract, for the greater part, consists of two sunken lands, several small lakes, the timber generally spruce and hemlock: on the high grounds, the lands tolerable; and the timber birch, beech, and maple. From the best

( 19 )

best information here received of the vacant lands on this bay beyond us, we were fully convinced they do not merit our attention, the shore being very rocky, and the lands back, in general, unfit for cultivation.—Friday 19th, left the Acadian settlements, and walked to Holman's Point, along the beach, 11 miles, where we lodged.—Saturday 20th, left Holman's Point about ten o'clock, after a very harassing walk of 18 miles, through the worst of roads.—Sunday 21st, took passage for Annapolis, where we arrived in the afternoon, and found Mr. Sayre, who had just arrived from St. John's.—September 24th, this day resigned our agency, and gave the book of proceeding, power of attorney, and the balance in our hands, to the Rev. John Sayre, to be by him delivered to Anthony Stewart, Esq. at Halifax.

Signed PHILIP J. LIVINGSTON.  
NATHANIEL CHANDLER.Annapolis, Sept. 23, 1783.  
24 Sept. 1783.

## GENTLEMAN,

We had the pleasure to inform you, in ours of the 19th of August last, of our arrival here on the 17th of the same month, and of our entering immediately on the business of our agency. The journal copy inclosed will give you such a detail of our transactions as can claim your attention. We have now to suggest our disappointment in not finding as yet tracts of land to locate equal to your reasonable expectations. You will please to observe, that the best lands in the province bordering on navigable waters have been granted many years ago, and that very few tracts, but such as are of little value, are now to be obtained, which merit our notice. You will therefore consider whether, under these circumstances, your Agents are to apply for lands of this description, conceiving from their instructions they cannot now attend to them. To aid you in this enquiry, we enclose you an act of assembly of this province respecting estates\*, which we trust, will

\* An Act for encouraging the improvement of lands in the Province of Halifax, and further quieting Possession. Whereas great inconveniences and prejudices have arisen on account of not improving the lands on the Peninsula of Halifax; and whereas,



( 20 )

think, will shew you in how loose and vague a mode this business is determined. That no time, however, may be lost, we have to propose that the township of Chester be explored, lying on the South side of the peninsula, about 35 miles West of the town of Halifax; which, by information, is one of the best escheatable tracts on the sea coast, and reserved until we hear of your determination on this head. We beg to know, whether the tract on Sissiboo river is considered as an object worth your regard. We flattered ourselves that the vacant tracts on St. Mary's bay would have been entirely acceptable. We preferred

by the absence of several of the grantees, and the neglect and death of others, many of the lots lie waste; in order, therefore, to encourage the improvement of the land within the said Peninsula, be it enacted by his Excellency the Governor, Council, and Assembly, and by the authority of the same it is hereby enacted, that, in all cases where the grantees of lands within the said Peninsula have been abroad from the province, or have lived thereon, for the space of seven years, and no improvements made thereon for that time, and likewise, in such cases where any grantees have claimed said land, it shall and may be lawful, upon an inquest of office, on the oath of twelve men sworn for that purpose, held before the commissioner of escheats and forfeitures, according to the commission to him granted, and duly returned in the office of register of the court of chancery for the Governor and Commander in Chief for the time being, with the consent and advice of his Majesty's Council, to make grants and conveyances of such lands so returned, which grants and conveyances shall be good, valid, and effectual, to all intents and purposes, whatever.

Provided that it shall and may be lawful for all persons, interested or intitled to such lands comprised in said office, to traverse the same within twelve months from the date of such inquest; and if the said office not being traversed within the said time, the grant of such land, by virtue of such inquest, by the Governor or Commander in Chief, with advice as aforesaid, shall be absolute, according to the form and effect of such grant.

And whereas it may be doubtful, whether the registry of lots of land, granted simply as lots, without any formal conveyance under the seal of the Province, within the Peninsula of Halifax, or elsewhere, in this Province, import a conveyance in fee simple to the person in whose name the same are registered; for the quieting such persons in their possessions, be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that all and every person having a right to claim by virtue of such registry, excepting the persons absent and neglecting to improve as aforesaid, shall be entitled to a full and absolute estate in fee simple in the lands so registered, any want of form in the said registry notwithstanding.

a situation

of Messrs. Stewart and Sayre will throw new light on the subject, and hold up to your view a tract of country eligible and convenient. As Mr. Sayre is just arrived from St. John's River, and is going to-morrow to Halifax, where we hope he will find Mr. Stewart, we have resigned to them the charge of exploring Chester, and such other places as they may think proper, for the use of the Association, and request you will be pleased to nominate other Agents in our stead, if more should be deemed proper, as we are under a necessity of resigning our appointment from this time, being well convinced that Messrs. Stewart and Sayre will perfect the agency as far as possible, and therefore recommend that all letters from you in future be directed to Mr. Stewart at Halifax. We shall immediately close our expences from the fund, which unavoidably have been very heavy, and remit the balance in our hands to Mr. Stewart, and lodge with him all the public papers, which we shall tomorrow deliver to Mr. Sayre for this purpose.

We have the honour to be, with much regard,  
Your most obedient, and very humble servants,

PHILIP J. LIVINGSTON.  
NAT. CHANDLER.

Thomas Knox and William Taylor, Esqrs.  
Committee of Correspondence for Dis-  
solved Loyalists.

P. S. We have also enclosed a rough sketch of the lands at Sissiboo as formerly laid out.

( 21 )

a situation on this bay, on account of the perfect ease and safety of the navigation, and its vicinity to the fisheries; and, had the back land from Sissiboo, as far as we explored, been correspondent to the two thousand acres in front (circumstances as it was), we should not have hesitated a moment in determining the location, it being one of the most agreeable and convenient situations we have seen; and do therefore still recommend a further exploring of this back country for at least 12 miles from Sissiboo towards the great lake, and a reservation of this tract, until your determination is known. If these lands should not apply to our purpose, we prefer a location on the South side of the peninsula, on account of its numerous harbours and fisheries, and the comparative safety of its navigation. We have to observe, that the difficulty and danger of the navigation within the Bay of Fundy continually increases from Cape Blomidown, thro' the basin of Menes, to Cobequid, at the head of one arm of the Bay, and through Chignecto to Cumberland, at the head of the other arm of the Bay, with scarce any good harbours. The tide in this extent rises from forty to eighty feet, and with such rapidity as to form a column of water near the heads, four feet or more in height, called the Boar, which together with the quicksands often prove destructive to vessels when grounded; which often happens, as the ebb leaves the shores and channels entirely dry for some miles below high-water. Add to this, that all the valuable lands in that part of the province have already been granted, and that the few good tracts liable to escheat are owned by persons of wealth and influence; and you will easily believe there is nothing in that quarter worthy our pursuit. If, however, the original intention of the Association is adhered to, and no lands are to be sought for but such as are free from disputed claims, we, in this case, (supposing the location on St. Mary's Bay not suitable,) recommend such tracts as may be vacant on St. John's River, the claims of the Provincial Corps as promised by Government being first satisfied; which will carry us about 12½ miles from the mouth of the river. Amidst this choice of difficulties, it is not easy to select the least; we therefore only presume, Gentlemen, to state facts with impartiality for your consideration; and still hope that the more accurate and industrious investigation

D

ef

The Journal speaks its own meaning; and the map, with its curious remark on the public lots laid out at Sisbeau in the town-plot, points out the honour and public spirit of the Fifty-five "most respectable & characters,"—viz. "The reservations for the public uses may be divided into small lots for the benefit of the Fifty-five, and the church and school, the mill



( 23 )

mill and minister, may take their shares in the back lands." Such conduct was never thought of by Sir Guy Carleton, who had taken special care of the church and school in his letter to Governor Parr, which were pointed out by the whole body of Loyalists, and which Governor Parr had duly noticed.

On the arrival of Livingston and Chandler at Halifax, the 28th of August, 1783, they modestly applied to Governor Parr for five thousand acres of land, to be located, surveyed, and granted to each of the Fifty-five associates; on the 29th the Governor complied with their request, and on the 30th he granted his warrant to the Surveyor General to measure and lay out 5000 acres to Stewart, and to each of the Fifty-five associates, although General Sir Guy Carleton had declared, in his answer to the Loyalists on the 20th of August, "that he had reason to believe that no one person would obtain larger grants of Lands in Nova Scotia than one thousand acres." Be this as it may, Governor Parr's readiness to comply with the petition of the Fifty-five, shews he did not seek to discourage the Loyalists settling in his province. The survey went on rapidly, and the patents for 5000 acre lots would have been granted without delay, had not Sir Guy Carleton transmitted to Governor Parr the remonstrance of the whole body of Loyalists, and signed by more than 600 persons, whose sufferings, services, loyalty, and losses, were not inferior to those of the Fifty-five,

D 2

Governor

Governor for the time being for such other warrant or warrant of survey for such other tract or tracts of land as will amount in the whole to the quantity of five thousand acres for each and every of the subscribers to the said request or application to His Excellency Sir Guy Carleton, as aforesaid.

Third.—In regard to the division and partition of such tract or tracts of land as may be granted to us, we recommend the mode pointed out in the instructions given with our said letter or power of attorney and agency on the 31st day of July last, and to which we refer as the most equitable and eligible mode of distribution.

Fourth.—You are hereby directed, authorized, and impowered, to receive from the said John Sayre and Anthony Stewart the monies herein before mentioned to be in their hands, and which you are to apply in defraying the necessary expences which may incur; so that no delay may arise in completing the business of the agency hereby vested in you.

Fifth.—As, in all probability, the evacuation of New York will take place before the survey can be completed, and Messrs. Knox and Taylor, heretofore appointed to correspond with the Agents in Nova Scotia, will be removed; we recommend that you address your letters to Thomas Knox, Esq. Head-Quarters, Halifax, and advise him of every circumstance that may occur relative to the completion of the object of the application; as, from his situation, and the interest he has in the General concern, he will afford you such assistance as you may stand in need of, especially in obtaining letters patent and confirmation for the said lands. — In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands and seals the 16th of October, 1783.

Signed ABIAH WILLARD, and 37 more.

After these instructions, the Fifty-five used every method possible to gain their point. Accordingly, one member of the Junto, whose consequence and great wealth were brought to light since the rebellion, suffered himself to be the imputed Author of the following Letter, which

to the  
Minutemen

( 24 )

Governor Parr, on receiving the said remonstrance and other information concerning the merit of the Fifty-five, very prudently resolved not to grant lands to any person not resident in the colony, and that a thousand acres were sufficient for one man. Livingston and Chandler, seeing their plan of making tenants of their suffering brethren could not be carried into execution, resigned their agency on September 24, 1783, and left Sayre and Stewart the Agents for the Fifty five. On October 16, 1783, their Associates at New-York, being fully acquainted with what had been done in Nova-Scotia, held a meeting, and appointed Samuel Goldsberry their agent and attorney to act with or without Sayre and Stewart, to survey the lands according to Governor Parr's warrant, and to obtain a patent thereof. The following instructions were given to Mr. Goldsberry :

## No. VI.

**FIRST;**—That, on your arrival in Nova-Scotia, you repair with all convenient speed to Annapolis, or Conway, and request the said John Biddle to make every dispatch in his power to compleat the survey of the lands mentioned in the said warrant; and in doing this, that you afford him every assistance in your power—That return be made of the lands so surveyed, and letters patent obtained for the same, *as soon as possible*.

**Second.**—And, in case the lands so ordered to be surveyed should be found inadequate to the purposes of the application, and by you adjudged insufficient to answer the prayer of our Memorial to His Excellency Governor Parr, then and in such case we recommend to you, with or without the said John Sayre and Anthony Stewart, to make application to his Excellency the Governor



( 26 )

( 27 )

which shews the integrity and justice of a Mandamus Counsellor of Massachusetts-bay.

## No. VII.

New-York, October 23, 1783.

S I R,

PERMIT me to congratulate your Excellency on your safe arrival in Nova Scotia—a circumstance highly pleasing to your friends, among whom I flatter myself I have the honour to be reckoned. It is in that province, among his Majesty's faithful subjects, I have to hope to pass the remainder of my days, in the enjoyment of loyalty, peace, and tranquillity.

The unhappy termination of the war has induced many of us to seek an asylum in the province of Nova Scotia, and the very liberal assistance given by their Excellencies the Commanders in Chief of his Majesty's Forces, and the countenance they have been pleased to afford on the occasion, has greatly contributed to people a country where we have every reason to hope loyalty and virtue will flourish, to the honour of the parent state, as well as the happiness of the settlers.

Encouraged by Sir Guy Carleton, myself and fifty-four other gentlemen addressed his Excellency, stating our situation, and the little prospect we had of returning to our former places of residence, and praying his recommendation to Governor Parr for a grant of a tract of land of five thousand acres to us respectively. His Excellency was pleased to recommend the granting our request, and we appointed the Rev. Mr. Sayre, Anthony Stewart, Philip John Livingston, and Nathaniel Chandler, Esqrs. our Agents to compleat the business in Nova-Scotia. Messrs. Sayre, Livingston, and Chandler, left this place in August last; but the settlement of his family prevented the former of these gentlemen from paying immediate attention to the subject. The other gentlemen however proceeded to explore the country, and obtained a warrant of survey for the quantity of lands pray'd for, to be laid out on the Bay of St. Mary and River Sissiboo; and, after having done this, resigned their agency to Messrs. Sayre and Stewart, before the lands were surveyed. On receiving their resignation we immediately met, and, considering the object,

( 28 )

In this letter are two assertions worthy of the supposed author, viz. "After we had made our application to Sir Guy Carleton, a number of persons were induced, from the misrepresentations of some very turbulent people here, to present a memorial in opposition to our request—they have misrepresented facts," &c. &c. "I assure your Excellency, that the associated Loyalists, interested with me in the application, are worthy of every attention, from their sufferings in person and property on account of their attachment to his Majesty's government."—The facts are, those "very turbulent people," as Mr. Willard terms Samuel Hale, and other agents for the whole body of Loyalists, remonstrated to Sir Guy Carleton against the insidious Junto having good acres each, wherever they might please to locate them; not chusing to be tenants to such syndics, whose services and labours were not extraordinary in consequence of their loyalty. Sir Guy Carleton's answer, No. IV. proves the facts had not been misrepresented by Mr. Hale, &c. &c. &c. for his Excellency sent forward their memorial to the Governor of Nova Scotia, to prevent that success which the Fifty-five unjustly expected; and assured the Loyalists in general, that he believed no one person would obtain more than 1000 acres.

Notwithstanding the answer of Sir Guy Carleton, Mr. Willard and his Associates resolved to deceive Governor Parr, as they had done the Commander in Chief,

In

object; made choice of Mr. Samuel Goldberry, a very worthy Loyalist, and one of our associates, to proceed in completing the object of the application. With proper powers and instructions on this head, he will sail with the first fair wind for Port Roseway, where he will leave his family, and proceed across the country to Annapolis, in the hope of meeting with Mr. Biddle, to whom the execution of the warrant has been committed.

I must, however, take leave to mention to your Excellency, that, after we had made our application to Sir Guy Carleton, a number of persons were induced, from the misrepresentations of some very turbulent people here, to present a memorial in opposition to our request. In this memorial they have misrepresented facts, and from false insinuations induced numbers to sign their memorial who would otherwise have declined it. I beg leave to assure your Excellency, that the associated Loyalists, interested with me in the application, are worthy of every attention; from their sufferings in person and property on account of their attachment to his Majesty's government; and, on the whole, I can truly declare, that the Association is composed of gentlemen loyal to a degree, and worthy the protection of Government.

In behalf, therefore, of those gentlemen, permit me to solicit your Excellency's kind attention and countenance in perfecting the survey, that letters patent may be obtained for those lands pointed out in our warrant, as many of the Association will be in Nova Scotia this fall and winter. Those gentlemen who go to England will be out in the spring or summer, and all wish to have their lands marked out, so that they may be enabled to fix themselves as soon as the season will permit. Mr. Stewart, now at Halifax, will wait on your Excellency on the subject: to him I beg leave to refer for any other information you wish on the head. With every sentiment of respect and regard,

I have the honour to be,

Sir,  
Your Excellency's most obedient and

Most humble servant,

Signed ABIJAH WILLARD.



thereby obtained his recommendation to Governor Parr, to the great prejudice of other Loyalists, whose services, losses, and loyalty, greatly exceeded those of the Fifty-five, and who never claimed more than to be on a level with their suffering countrymen.

3. The Fifty-five, by endeavouring to supplant their brethren in affliction, as did the Dutch Patriarchs at New York in 1664, have raised a jealousy, and formed a division among the Refugees in Nova Scotia, detrimental to the colony, and dangerous to themselves.

4. Governor Parr has acted with candour and wisdom in refusing to grant 5000 acres to one person; as 600 acres are abundantly sufficient in any new country for one family during thirty years. Large patents would depopulate Nova Scotia; as they have done Carolina, the Island of St. John, and Canada.

5. Governor Parr has not injured the Fifty-five by withholding a grant of 5000 acres, on a supposition that his Excellency had power to comply; because 1000 acres were offered to each of them that actually resided in the province, which is ample satisfaction for the trouble and expence the company has been at in exploring the country.

6. Governor Parr granted a warrant to the Surveyor General to lay out 5000 acres in a plantation to each of the Fifty-five petitioners, upon Sir Guy Carleton's recommendation, and, after the survey and returns

made a return according to the Governor's requisition. The number in Nova Scotia appearing to be very disproportionate to the whole Fifty-five, occasioned the Governor to answer the Agents after this manner: "I am not authorized to give so large a quantity of land as 5000 acres to one man, and therefore could not justify myself in so doing; but I am able and ready to grant 1000 acres to each person, belonging to the company of Fifty-five, actually resident in Nova Scotia, and no more." The Agents, by the instructions, could not accept of less than 5000 acres to each person; they therefore refused the single 1000 acres, and wrote to their Associates in England that all hopes of doing any thing with Governor Parr were at an end; at the same time requesting, in the warmest terms, that their case might be laid before the Ministry, as it was an object worth pursuing, and as the lands are the most fertile and eligible of any in the province.

The inferences naturally arising from this plain narrative of facts are,

1. The Fifty-five "most respectable characters" have deserted their suffering brethren, and some of them betrayed their trust, by accepting an agency for the whole, and clandestinely acting for a part.

2. They abused Sir Guy Carleton by their pompous but "humble opinion of their former great influence in his Majesty's American dominions," and thereby



( 32 )

returns were made, could not grant but 1000 acres to each man—This very extraordinary conduct in the King's Governor, to speak in the language of the Fifty-five, is accounted for in Sir Guy Carleton's answer, No. IV.—viz. “ His Excellency, within these few days; has had reason to believe that no one person will have more than 1000 acres.” This declaration was published in New York Aug. 15, 1783, and the Fifty-five knew of it, as appears by Mr. Willard's letter, No. VII. Nevertheless, the Fifty-five pursued their object of 5000 acres each, vainly hoping Governor Parr would attend to his warrant of survey for 5000 acres, although forbid by his Majesty to grant more than 1000 acres to any one person—and it appears that the prohibition arrived after the warrant for survey was granted, and before the return was made of the survey.

7. As the Fifty-five solicited for the 5000 acres, not as a compensation for losses, but for loyalty, the whole body of Loyalists in Nova Scotia agree with Governor Parr and his Council, that 1000 acres of wilderness land in Nova Scotia is equal at least to the Loyalty of any of those inclined to TRANSFER<sup>\*</sup> their allegiance from the King to Congress at a less valuable price.

8. Supposing Governor Parr could have granted 5000 acres to each of the Fifty-five, it would have

\* Vide the Farewell Sermon preached at New-York by the Rev. Charles Inglis, D. D.

injured

( 33 )

injured the real Loyalists who actually reside in Nova Scotia; whereas one fifth of the Fifty-five are residents in the United States, in whose service many of them have been employed, and from whose past conduct it is fair to conclude they will not be very useful “ in diffusing and supporting a spirit of attachment to the British Constitution, and to his ‘Majesty's Royal Person and Family;” (vide No. II.) which assertion being true, has made many people doubt the authenticity of the words in the letter signed A. Willard, viz. “ I can truly declare, that the Association is composed of gentlemen loyal to a degree, “ and worthy of the protection of Government.”

9. The Fifty-five (in No. II.) speak of a contrast between their former and present occupations, as rendering them unable personally to obtain a decent support, unless they may have 5000 acres each to cultivate with vassals from Africa, Ireland, or America.—What those most respectable characters mean by the words *contrast* and *occupations* must be this or nothing; That we were farmers, clergymen, lawyers, or tradesmen, but since the war, have been merchants, commissaries, clerks, chaplains, and now some are become rich gentlemen, and therefore cannot personally in future support ourselves by industry; but if Government will enable us to enslave our suffering brethren, we are humbly of opinion, that such a number of loyal subjects as the Fifty-five will amply pay the cost.

( 34 )

10. They then modestly requested 275,000 acre, to be exonerated of quit-rents, in order to enable Fifty-five to “ support his Majesty's Royal Person & Family, and to diffuse Loyalty through Nova Scotia.”

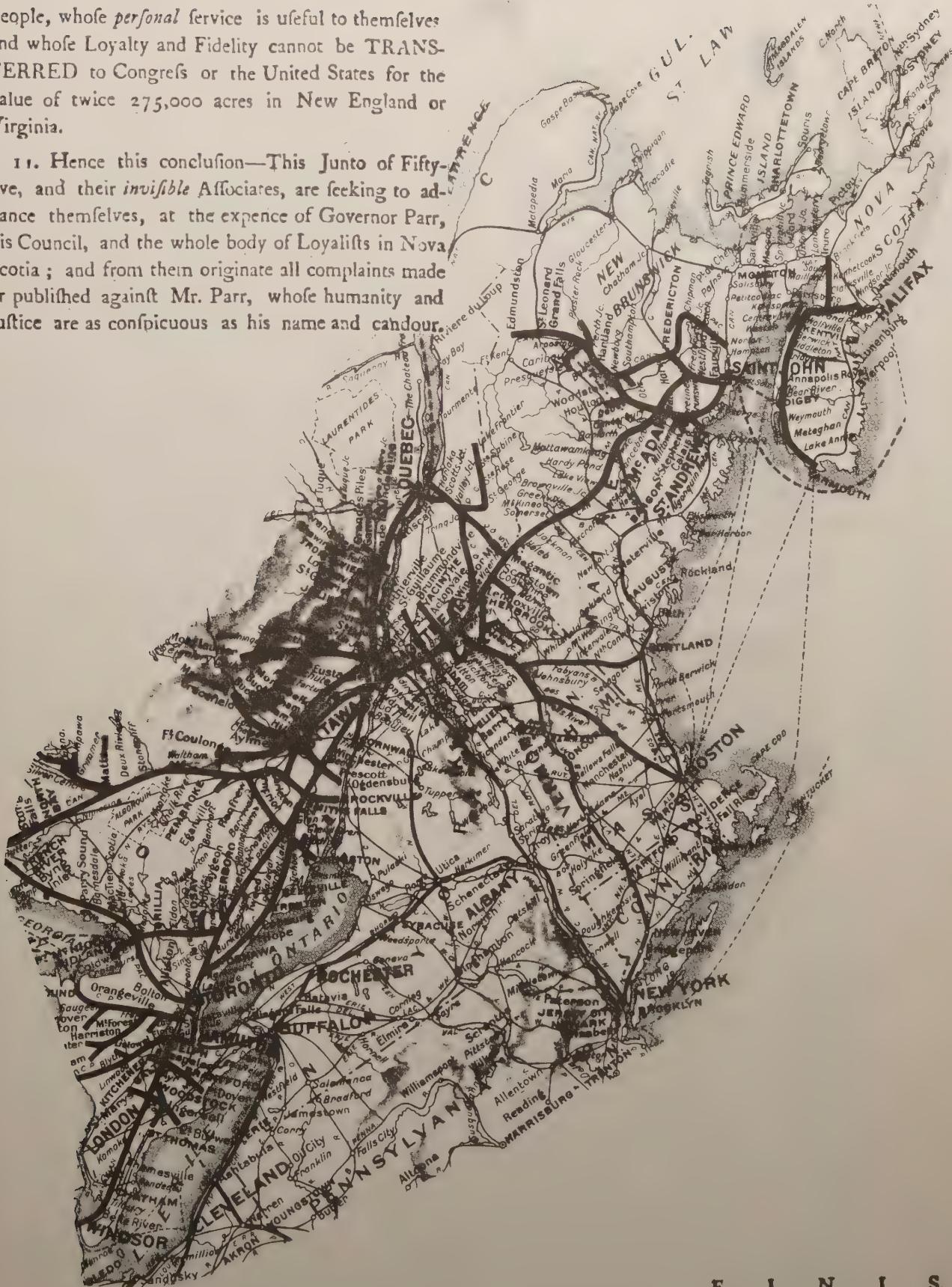
10. The Fifty-five declare “ they have had great influence in America;” which may be true, if their influence is confined to the British commanders, who have so well paid them for their *influence*, that nearly half of the Fifty-five have been gainers, and not losers, by the rebellion. Upon this ground, or because some of them were rebel committee-men, they modestly requested Sir Guy Carleton to put them on the same footing with Field Officers in respect to the number of acres, and to survey and convey the land at the expense of Government.—Whatever influence those gentlemen of the Fifty-five ever had in the now United States of America, it appears they have now none in Nova Scotia with the real Loyalists, with Governor Parr, and his Council; and it is presumed the Ministry will consider them in the same manner, should they be humbly of opinion to solicit Government for 275,000 acres of land in Nova Scotia, to be divided between the said associated Loyalists. Government may, without much hazard, refuse giving lands in Nova Scotia to those most respectable characters, and rest the whole matter with Governor Parr, who has done all in his power to have the lands cleared, and to give indisputable titles to industrious people,



( 35 )

people, whose personal service is useful to themselves and whose Loyalty and Fidelity cannot be TRANSFERRED to Congress or the United States for the value of twice 275,000 acres in New England or Virginia.

11. Hence this conclusion—This Junto of Fifty-five, and their *invisible* Associates, are seeking to advance themselves, at the expence of Governor Parr, his Council, and the whole body of Loyalists in Nova Scotia; and from them originate all complaints made or published against Mr. Parr, whose humanity and justice are as conspicuous as his name and candour.



F I N I S.



( 2 )

and his Council were blamed; but whether justly, or otherwise, is not my business to enquire—the Reader perhaps will be better able to determine, when he has perused the documents which I shall hereafter lay before him.

The Public in general can have but an imperfect idea of transactions at such a distance; especially when no *authentic* information is produced, as has been the case in the present instance. A few anonymous letters and squibs indeed have been published in the news-papers, setting forth those complaints; and these again have been answered in the same papers; but neither have afforded sufficient ground for forming a decided judgment.

Whilst matters were in this state, a pamphlet made its appearance with the professed design, “That Government and the Public may not be misled,” on this subject, p. 5. It is intitled a “Vindication of Governor Parr and his Council, against the Complaints of certain Persons, who sought to engross 275,000 Acres of Land in Nova-Scotia\*.” The Author calls those persons a *Junto*; and tells us—“The Junto is composed of fifty-five *visible* persons—and an *invisible Company*—of a deeper art and keener policy.” p. 5. He has favoured the

\* Printed for J. Stockdale, opposite Burlington House, Piccadilly.

Public

( 3 )

Public with the names of the fifty-five *visible* persons; but as to the *invisible Company*, “he has left us wholly in the dark with regard to their names, number, or place of abode. From his description—that they are *invisible*—that they are of *deeper art and keener policy*.—I suspect they must be *Devils*; some few legions of which, he supposes the fifty-five *visible* persons have taken as associates in their nefarious design.” The Reader would be mistaken, were he to suppose the Vindicator only jesting when he used such ludicrous, unintelligible expressions. The good man is in downright earnest; however remote from common sense or apprehension his language may be thought.

It does not appear, however, from any thing that is said or produced by the Vindicator, that the fifty-five *visible* persons, or any of them, have preferred complaints against Governor Parr and his Council; and as for the *invisible Company*, I honestly declare, I know nothing about them, nor will I be answerable for *their* conduct.—The Vindicator indeed tells us, “A letter, said to be from Nova-Scotia; having appeared in the Morning Chronicle, of June 21, 1784, representing Governor Parr, the Chief Justice, and Members of the Council, to be weak, ignorant, designing men, the affairs of the Province unskillfully managed, and the new settlements discouraged, has made the following pub-

B 2

“ lication,

( 4 )

“lication, (*viz.* the Vindication) necessary.”  
P. 5.

But was this letter written by any of the fifty-five persons alluded to? Of this there is not the least evidence.—The Vindicator does not, nor *can* he assert it. Yet on no other grounds than this anonymous Letter—written he knows not where, nor by whom—he endeavours to confign to public indignation, fifty-five respectable characters, who have sacrificed every thing but a good conscience, for their attachment to his Majesty and the British Constitution, and loads them with every term of reproach that his malice could invent.

If, after all, this same anonymous letter, published June 21, should not have been written by or to any of the fifty-five persons—if it should have been written by a Gentleman in Halifax, to his Friend in this City, who caused it to be published, neither of whom had any connection with the fifty-five—and this I solemnly aver to be the real truth: Let that public, to which the Vindicator appeals, determine how far such a procedure is consistent with candour or justice; or what regard is due to the representations of such an unprincipled writer.

In such a general contest as existed lately in America, it is not to be supposed that every individual would act solely from principle; accidental



( 5 )

accidental circumstances would often intervene, and throw individuals into classes to which they did not properly belong. I have known some whose principles were loyal, take part with the rebels, through the persuasion and influence of their connections, or merely to get rid of their debts, and patch up their shattered fortunes. I have known others of a republican cast, whose sentiments and principles corresponded exactly with those of the rebels, by similar motives, or some caprice or accident, flung among the Loyalists; and they brought with them all that restless turbulence and levelling disposition, that characterised the enemies of loyalty. Whether the Vindicator answers the latter description, I shall not affirm; but from his groundless aspersions on men of unquestionable loyalty—from the unfairness of his procedure, and the disrespectful manner in which he mentions, “The integrity and justice of a mandamus Councillor of Massa-“chusetts Bay,”—where he adopts the usual style of rebels—the suspicion against him is certainly well-founded.

One thing however is evident—The Vindicator is conscious that complaints have come from Nova-Scotia, but from whom, or on what account, is the question. He says—  
“The foundation of, perhaps; all the com-“plaints against Governor Parr, and the“Council of Nova-Scotia, will appear to“originate from the disappointment of the  
“Junto.”

( 7 )

proof—the papers therein laid before the Public, and which have been surreptitiously pre-  
cured by the Vindicator and his confederates, so clearly justify the fifty-five persons in their application for grants of land in Nova-Scotia, and declare the uprightness of their intentions and conduct; that it seemed unnecessary to make any reply to such a publication.—Add to all this, that the Vindication makes no attempt to refute the complaints from Nova-Scotia, and which originate from persons totally different from those mentioned by the Author. Were all that he says, to the disadvan-  
tage of the fifty-five ever so true, yet surely this would not obviate the complaints which come from another quarter; and had he not called his pamphlet *a Vindication*, it might easily be mistaken for something else. He reminds me of the painter, whose animals were daubed so awkwardly, that to prevent mistakes, he wrote the name of what was intended under each—*This is an elephant*.—*This is an ass*.—*This is a calf*, &c. &c.

( 6 )

“ Junto:”—Meaning the fifty-five *visible* persons, and the *invisible* Company. Leaving him to ascertain the accuracy of a foundation’s originating, I shall only observe, that there is some modesty and diffidence discovered here—qualities, with which the Vindicator is not often chargeable. But in the conclusion of his pamphlet, he becomes positive, and asserts—  
“ From them, i.e. the Junto of fifty-five, and their invisible associates, originate all the complaints made and published against Governor Parr and his Council.” What before was only a surmise, is now demonstration; and yet there is not in the whole pamphlet a single circumstance, or shadow of proof, that the fifty-five persons or any of them, made or published any complaint against Governor Parr or his Council. The charge is wholly unsupported by any evidence. If the Vindicator thinks that he has removed the complaints which have been actually made by others, and exculpated his clients, I pity his understanding: the fifty-five need not be under any apprehensions from his abilities; and I am sure Governor Parr and his Council, have as little to hope from his exertions in their behalf.

On first reading over the Vindication, I was inclined to think it neither required, nor deserved an answer. The malice that runs through it, is so conspicuous, yet so impotent; the charges exhibited in it, are so destitute of proof—

But when it is considered—  
that silence might be construed into an acknowledgment of guilt—  
that many might think some blame was due, where so much was boldly imputed  
—  
and that some benefit may accrue to the Loyalists in general, who have emigrated to Nova-Scotia, by throwing light on their situation, which is known to very few in this country, most people, I imagine, will be of opinion



( 8 )

nion with me, on my second thoughts, that this pamphlet should not pass wholly unnoticed. A few Remarks and Strictures on it therefore, are now presented to the public. Had I any malice to gratify, or were I disposed to hold up characters to public contempt, the Vindication affords a very convenient opportunity for the purpose.

The names of some who are therein brought forward, as active in opposing and aspersing the fifty-five, might easily and without any departure from truth, be exhibited in a light not the most advantageous. But this would only be trifling with the Public, and I have no relish for such low, illiberal amusement.

My object is to wipe off the aspersions which have been thrown upon those worthy persons who have been injured by the Vindicator; and shew that in their joint application for lands in Nova-Scotia, and in their subsequent procedure, there was nothing blameable. To evince this, no more is necessary than to state facts truly, and give a just detail of the case. And as the Vindicator asserts, that all the complaints made or published against Governor Parr and his Council, have originated from the fifty-five Associators, I shall subjoin some extracts of letters from persons of credit in Nova-Scotia, who are not of the fifty-five, and other authentic documents; by which it will evidently appear that the

( 10 )

America, the Loyalists, who had been active on the side of Government, plainly perceived that they could not remain in the revolted Colonies; but must abandon their property, and seek for new habitations. Their perplexity on this occasion, is more easily conceived than described. Difficulties occurred on all sides; and it was not easy to decide where the preference lay. Deprived of their property, they were cast upon the world, with their families; uncertain where to fix, or how to support themselves; their eyes were chiefly turned to Nova-Scotia, where immense tracts of land remained uncultivated; thither, it was proposed, by Government to convey them; many hundreds had already gone thither, and obtained grants of land.

( 9 )

the complaints originate from a different quarter.

If under this last head, some things should be brought forward which may be disagreeable to Governor Parr and his Council, they know where to lay the fault. Their officious friend the Vindicator, has made it necessary. Men unaccustomed to blame, and who instead of blame, deserve the thanks of their country, cannot tamely bear unmerited reproach. It is not the custom of real Loyalists to speak evil of dignities. They reverence their Sovereign—they respect him in the person of his Representatives, and of all who are honoured with his Commission. Instead of wantonly exposing such, they would much rather draw a veil over their infirmities, and those casual errors, into which perhaps they may have fallen more through the embarrassment of their situation, than malignity of heart. But they would be unworthy of the name of Loyalists, (a name which to my ear, conveys an idea of dignity, virtue, and consistency of conduct) if they suffered themselves to be unjustly traduced in the face of the Public, when their vindication is so easy.

The Case of the fifty-five Associators was simply this :

When the account of the late Peace, and the terms on which it was concluded, arrived in

C America,

One of the inconveniences, and perhaps not the least, incident to the then situation of the Loyalists, was, their being separated from their former connections, after habits of familiarity and friendship had been formed; and compelled, at an advanced period of life, to begin new connections. To remedy this evil as far as it was practicable, a number of respectable Loyalists who knew each other, agreed to apply for a joint grant of Lands in Nova-Scotia, on which they might settle contiguous to each other, form a neighbourhood, and by their mutual society and support, soften as much as possible their common calamities. This was simply and truly the origin of the whole business,



( 11 )

ness, nor was there any other design in view. It was first intended that no more than between thirty and forty heads of families should be taken into the association; but several of these had other friends whom they wished to be settled near them; these friends, at their request, were admitted; and thus the number swelled at last to fifty-five.

As to the quantity of land that should be applied for, there was no fixed rule to go by; for no orders had then been received from England relative to this point, and none had been issued by the Commander in Chief at New-York. In applying for the grant, however, it was necessary to specify some determined quantity. It was, therefore, agreed to petition, not for five thousand acres for each Associator, as this libeller falsely asserts, but for the same quantity that should be allowed to Field Officers of the Provincial Corps; and, considering the rank and characters of these petitioners, let common sense and common candour judge, whether there was any thing unreasonable, unfair, or ungenerous in such a request!

Sir Guy Carleton was then vested with the supreme command at New-York; and a most fortunate circumstance it was for the Loyalists, that he filled the important station at so critical a period. He had a heart to sympathize with them in their distress.—He had judgment to form

( 12 )

form proper arrangements and plans for their relief, and firmness to carry those plans into execution.—He was accessible to all, and paid the strictest attention to whatever matters were laid before him. Superior to the little, narrow views of party, he was the common Friend of ALL; and whilst the dignity and interests of Government were duly supported, on the one hand; the welfare of those who were suffering in its behalf, was zealously promoted on the other.

As soon as the Associators had digested their plan, it was submitted to Sir Guy Carleton's inspection for his approbation; and it may be proper to observe here, that such was the opinion universally entertained of his judgment and integrity, that no man would dare to ask his concurrence to any measure that was thought not consistent with the strictest probity and rectitude: The plan itself, and the design of the Associators, were so obviously fair and reasonable, and so consonant to the scheme actually proposed by Government for assisting the Loyalists, that no unprejudiced person could possibly object to them. Sir Guy Carleton was pleased to approve of the plan, and to promise that he would recommend it to Governor Parr; and as he never promised without first deliberately weighing the matter in question, so he never failed of punctually performing what he had promised. Accordingly he recommended the Associators, and their plan to Governor Parr:

( 13 )

Parr; and the latter was so far from disapproving the measure, or seeing any thing objectionable in it, that he immediately ordered a warrant of survey, even for the quantity of land which was desired by the Agents sent by the Associators; for it was those Agents, after their arrival in Nova-Scotia, who first proposed five thousand acres for each of their principals; on recollection that this quantity had been allowed to Field Officers of the Provincial Corps, at the conclusion of the former war which ended in 1763, and on the presumption that the same allowance would be made to persons of that rank on the present occasion.

But before I proceed to the transactions in Nova Scotia, it may be proper to advert to some others that occurred in New-York.

The Associators in their application to Sir Guy Carleton, informed him, “ That they wished not to be understood as soliciting a compensation for the losses they had sustained during the war.” This was certainly right; and to the reasons then specified by them, this further may be added—that waste lands in America, are of little value. It requires more expence to cultivate and improve a tract of waste land, if the labour be estimated, than to purchase a tract of equal quantity and quality, that is already improved. If it should be asked—Why then do not people purchase lands that are improved, instead of taking up such



duty, till the evacuation of New-York took place.

But in all this time, I never discovered that Mr. Hake acted either as a committee-man, or agent for "the whole body of the Loyalists." Some curious anecdotes indeed concerning him might be related, and if necessary, may hereafter be laid before the public. The matter before us may be ascertained by having recourse to the papers of Brook Watson, Esq. late Commissary General of New-York. Returns were made to him of all the Loyalists that embarked for Nova-Scotia, and of the several articles, provisions, &c. demanded for them, and furnished by Government. These returns were signed by the agents, and are Mr. Watson's vouchers for the expenditure of those articles. But I will venture to affirm, that Mr. Hake's name is not to be found in any of those returns, as an agent for the Loyalists.

#### Among

such as are waste? The answer is obvious and easy—Because many who want land have not money to purchase what is improved. But they have hands, with which they can labour; by that labour they gradually improve their waste lands, and raise their value; and, in the mean time, they procure a subsistence. The grant of waste lands to the Associators, could not therefore be considered as a compensation for their losses. The Vindicator misrepresents many circumstances to serve his purpose. He ridiculously insinuates, that it was criminal in the Associators to send agents for the purpose of exploring lands in Nova-Scotia; because "Messrs. Botsford, Cummings, and Hauser" had been sent on that business for the whole "body of Loyalists." p. 8. But this did not preclude any, that chose it, from sending their particular agents to explore lands; nor was it understood in that light. In fact, many other agents were sent for this purpose by different companies of Loyalists, and corps of the army.

For although it was highly proper, that some general agents should be appointed, where so great a mass of people of various descriptions and classes, was to be provided for; yet individuals were still at liberty to employ agents for themselves, and pursue the measures which they judged to be best adapted to their circumstances; some acted for themselves only, and employed no agents whatever.

Among the correspondents at New-York, assigned by the Vindicator to Messrs. Botsford, Cummings, and Hauser, after their departure thence, we find the name of "Samuel Hake, Esq."—It is not material to enquire how Mr. Hake came to be dubbed with the title of an *Esquire*, though it be mysterious, and raises curiosity. It is of more consequence to know how he came to be joined with "the Rev. Messrs. Samuel Seabury and John Sayre," as acting for the Loyalists that were going to Nova-Scotia; since I cannot learn that he acted for them at all, or had any agency in the business. If the case was otherwise, it was wholly a secret at New-York. The truth is, that the whole management of the affairs of the Loyalists going to Nova-Scotia—classing them in different companies, taking down their names, providing necessaries, and mustering them on ship-board—entirely devolved on the Reverend Dr. Seabury, and the Reverend Mr. John Sayre, from the first emigration in 1782, to June 1783. In this troublesome business, which was attended with much fatigue, these gentlemen discharged their duty with great fidelity, and universal approbation, as thousands can testify. In June 1783, Col. Willard, Stephen Skinner, and John Potts, Esqrs. and Capt. Rufus Chandler, were appointed by the Commander-in-Chief, to take part of the burden, and assist in forwarding the emigrations; and these last continued in that office, and faithfully did their duty,

But we are told a Memorial was presented to the Commander-in-Chief at New-York, opposing the grant of land to the fifty-five, and complaining of their procedure. It is true, such a memorial was presented; and Colonel Willard, in the letter published by the Vindicator, has, in a few words, very justly stated this matter. "A number of persons, says he, " were induced by the misrepresentation of some very turbulent people at New-York, to



( 17 )

" to present a Memorial in opposition to the request of the fifty-five Associators." Vind. p. 27. The " very turbulent people," here particularly referred to, were Esquire Hake, and Esquire E. Hardy, who were principal actors in the business, and set the whole machine in motion. Esquire Hake has been mentioned already; and as for the other, Esquire Hardy, he is now pursuing the same turbulent measures, and plaguing the poor Loyalists in Nova-Scotia, as formerly in New-York. The Memorial in question owes its birth to this goodly brace of Esquires: the one signed it in behalf of the whole; and both were of the Committee to present it. But had they been invited to join the Associators, we never had heard of this Memorial, and the scheme would have had their full approbation.

The real fact was; that a few restless people, with the two Esquires abovementioned at their head, who had a much better opinion of themselves than others chose to entertain of them—who never seemed happy but when engaged in some broil, thinking themselves neglected on this occasion, began the opposition; and by the most gross misrepresentations, persuaded some others to side with them. A Memorial, complaining of imaginary grievances, was drawn up—Carmen, ostlers, boys, &c. were solicited to sign it; and the number of subscribers, was said to amount to 600. But that

D

person

( 18 )

person who thinks it would be difficult to procure 600 such signers, or a much greater number, by such methods, and to such a Memorial, knows little of mankind, or of the spirit of the times.

I need not, however, say more about this counter Memorial, since it was treated just as it deserved. It produced no alteration in the sentiments of the Commander in Chief, or of Governor Parr; nor did it give any interruption to the fifty-five, when business went on as before; and the few people of any note or credit who were persuaded to sign it, were ashamed of what they had done, when matters were properly explained to them.

The Vindicator insinuates, that the Associators acted *secretly* in their application, and obtained their grant in a clandestine manner; what can he mean by this? would he have had a trumpet sounded on the occasion? or a town-meeting called, and the populace harangued? This last, indeed, was the common practice of the rebels, and one of the most successful methods of fomenting the rebellion; it might also be agreeable to the Vindicator's principles; but Loyalists are quite of another mind. The Associators applied to the proper persons—to the Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Forces in New-York, and to the King's Governor of Nova-Scotia; with these their business lay; and it would have been irregular to consult any others. This sagacious Vindicator might

( 19 )

might as well charge all other business transacted with those gentlemen, when a town-meeting was not called, with being secret and clandestine.

But did not the Associators claim an undue proportion of land, to the exclusion of their brethren, who must become their tenants?—By no means—the insinuation is groundless and absurd. Nova-Scotia and its appendages contain at least *thirty millions* of acres, of which scarcely a *seventeenth* part was cultivated. There was room enough therefore for all the Loyallists that went, and for many more. There was no occasion, nor did the Associators mean, that any should be excluded; their design was to become efficient settlers themselves, and to grant to others in fee-simple, a part of the lands assigned them. In this view of the matter, which is the simple truth, it will appear that they did not claim an undue proportion of land; nor was there any injury done, or intended to others.

For want of something really blameable in the Associators, this *recloubrable* Vindicator animadverts on their proposed arrangement of lots; viz. "that those next the water be laid out in a town-plot; divided into fifty-five shares; and the Church and School, the Mill and Minister, to take their shares in the back lands," page 23. And pray were not the back lands the properest situation for the Church and School? The line of sea coast on St. Mary's Bay,

D 2



( 20 )

Bay, which was taken in by the survey, was so small, that there was scarcely a convenient place found for a town-plot; and would he have a church and school fixed at the edge of the water, in a place where they would be disturbed by the bustle and hurry of business? Were not retired situations, out of the reach of noise and interruption, and at a convenient distance, the most proper? It is difficult to say which got the ascendant, the Vindicator's stupidity or malice, when he hazarded this charge.

Let us now proceed to Nova-Scotia, and see how matters went on there.

In compliance with the request of the Agents, Governor Parr, ordered a warrant of survey to be issued, as I said before. He saw nothing unusual, unfair, or objectionable in the affair. The warrant was returnable to the Secretary of State's office in six months; the Agents proceeded to explore the lands, a business attended with much fatigue and expence; and transmitted an account of their proceedings to their principals at New-York.

The first Agents, being obliged by the urgency of their family affairs—not through despair of making "Tenants of their brethren," as the Vindicator falsely insinuates—to return to New-York; other Agents were appointed to explore minutely the lands at St. Mary's Bay, and

#### No. I.

" To his Excellency John Parr, Esq. Governor of His Majesty's Province of Nova Scotia, &c. &c. &c.

" The Memorial of Anthony Stewart, Thomas Knox, and Samuel Goldsbury, in behalf of themselves, and as Agents for the Gentlemen whose names are expressed in a Memorial and Petition delivered to your Excellency on the 28th day of August last; a copy of which is hereunto annexed:

" Humbly *boweth*,

" That in consequence of the above mentioned Memorial and Petition, your Excellency was pleased on the 30th day of August last, to issue a warrant of survey, directed to the Surveyor General, to lay out for each of us, and each of the Gentlemen, whose names are contained in the annexed Memorial, a plantation containing five thousand acres of land upon St. Mary's Bay, the River Sissabou and the lands adjacent.

( 21 )

and on the Sissabou River which runs into it; and finally, Mr. Goldsbury, one of the Associates, and a person conversant in such matters, was sent to superintend the survey, which was accomplished and returned to the Secretary's Office within the limited time.

Hitherto the Associates had no cause of complaint against Governor Parr, nor did they make any.

Soon after the Plan of the Associates had been recommended by the Commander in Chief to Governor Parr; instructions came from England to grant no more than one thousand acres of land to any one settler in Nova-Scotia. When the Agents at Halifax applied to Governor Parr by Memorial, to have a patent for the tract that had been surveyed, and of which the survey had been returned, he alledged those instructions as a bar to granting more than one thousand acres to each Associate.—Their Memorial to the Governor was as follows: And, with other papers, which were written on the subject, it is laid before the Reader, that he may judge for himself. The publication of these papers, will also be an act of justice to the Agents at Halifax, as it will hence appear that their intentions were fair, their conduct judicious, and that they acted with fidelity.

No.

" Your

" That in pursuance of this warrant, your Memorialists have at considerable expence, and with much difficulty completed the survey as directed by the warrant, and the same has been returned into the Surveyor General's Office within the time therein limited.



( 23 )

" Your Memorialists have now to solicit your Excellency, that the necessary orders for a patent may issue agreeable to the warrant and the survey made thereon.

(Signed.)

ANTHONY STEWART.  
THOMAS KNOX.  
SAMUEL GOLDSBURY."

" Feb. 28th, 1784."

An Answer to this Memorial being delayed, the Agents wrote the following note :

No. II.

" Mr. Stewart, Mr. Knox, and Mr. Goldsbury, request the favor to know when it will be convenient to the Governor, to receive them on the business of their agency for the lands on St. Mary's Bay.—7th March, 1784."

To which the Governor returned this answer:

No. III.

" The Governor's Compliments to Messrs. Stewart, Knox, and Goldsbury,—they will please to see Mr. Bulkeley; who will give them an answer relative to their lands on St. Mary's Bay.—Monday, 8th March, 1784."

The

No. V.

" Secretary's Office, Halifax,  
11th March, 1784.

" GENTLEMEN,

" In answer to your letter which I received yesterday. I am to acquaint you, that the Governor having received his Majesty's Instructions limiting the allowance of land to a Field Officer, to one thousand acres; he therefore holds himself thereby restrained from granting any more; notwithstanding the warrant of survey, which he had before signed, on a presumption that the allowance of the like quantity of land, directed by the King's Proclamation of October, 1763, would be continued.

I am, GENTLEMEN,  
(Signed.) Your most obedient humble servant,  
RICHARD BULKELEY."

" Anthony Stewart, Thomas Knox,  
and Samuel Goldsbury, Esqrs."

( 24 )

The Agents being thus referred to Mr. Bulkeley, went to his house to wait on him; but not finding him at home, they wrote the following letter to him.

No. IV.

" SIR,

10th March, 1784

" Having been referred to you for an answer to a Memorial, which we had the honor of laying before the Governor on Tuesday last, praying that grants might issue agreeable to the survey done upon his Excellency's warrant, of the 30th of August, to the Gentlethen therein named; we have to request you will be pleased to favor us with that answer in writing.

" We are induced to make this request from a consideration that we act for other Gentlemen, who will expect, in this important concern, to be made fully acquainted with the reasons, why there should be any delay in carrying into execution the Governor's intentions, so fully expressed in the warrant above mentioned.

(Signed.)

ANTHONY STEWART.  
THOMAS KNOX.  
SAMUEL GOLDSBURY."

" Richard Bulkeley, Esq."

To

The Agents apprehended very reasonably, that no instructions could be meant to affect transactions prior to their date. However, having due respect to the King's instructions, and to the Governor's feelings, who thought himself restricted by them; they proposed in their

E

( 25 )

To this Mr. Bulkley answered.



( 26 )

their reply to Mr. Bulkeley, that one thousand acres might be secured to each Associate; and that the remaining four thousand acres should be reserved till his Majesty's decision on the matter might be known. Accordingly they wrote the following letter to Mr. Bulkeley.

## No. VI.

“ SIR,

13th March, 1784.

“ Though we are taught to believe that his Majesty's late instructions, mentioned in your letter, could not be meant to affect any transactions of the Governor prior to its date, yet being unwilling to request any thing of his Excellency, which he may not think himself at perfect liberty to comply with, we are willing for ourselves and as Agents for the other Gentlemen concerned in the location of land on Sissibou River, and St. Mary's Bay, to accept in the mean time, of grants of one thousand acres each, with the usual allotments in proportion to each of our families, and leave the decision of the remainder, claimed by the warrant, to the determination of the King in Council, where we propose to refer the matter; wherein we hope to meet with the Governor's countenance, if we shall state our pretensions in such manner as to meet his Excellency's approbation; and until such decision shall be known, the lands in question to be

I am, GENTLEMEN,  
Your most obedient humble servant,  
RICHARD BULKELEY.”  
(Signed.)

“ Anthony Stewart, Thomas Knox,  
and Samuel Goldsbury, Esqrs.”

Here the Governor acceded to the proposal of the Agents, and met their wishes. He had indeed objected to two of the Associates, and struck out their names, though men of irreproachable characters. He offered however to have grants made out for fifty-three thousand acres, i.e. one thousand acres to each of the remaining Associates, and that the rest should be reserved for the King's determination. So the matter was settled; a plan was left with the Governor, according to which the grants were to be made, and the Agents flattered themselves that their trouble was now at an end.

But they soon found that they were mistaken. They heard, not long after, that new measures were to be adopted—that the lands surveyed

( 27 )

be reserved for the purpose expressed in the warrant.

“ The Governor was pleased to say, he would order the expence of the survey to be paid; we shall be glad to know to whom we are to present the account.—And if his Excellency shall approve of our proposals, we shall be happy to have the honour of waiting on him when it suits his convenience.

(Signed.)

ANTHONY STEWART.

THOMAS KNOX.

SAMUEL GOLDSBURY.”

“ Richard Bulkeley, Esq.”

By the Governor's order, Mr. Bulkeley informed the Agents, in answer, “ That a grant of one thousand acres should be made out for such of the Gentlemen as were likely to become settlers; and that as to the rest, viz. the four thousand acres for each; the Governor would wait his Majesty's pleasure.” Such was the purport of Mr. Bulkeley's answer.

## No. VII.

“ Secretary's Office, Halifax,  
15th March, 1784.

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ In answer to your letter on the 15th instant, I am to acquaint you by the Governor's directions,

E 2



( 29 )

oyed for the Associates, even the fifty-three thousand acres, were promised to others, and that these were in actual treaty with, the Governor for that purpose. Alarmed at this intelligence, so contrary to their expectations, and to the assurances they had received, they waited on the Governor to claim his promise; but received no other satisfaction than a declaration from him—"That he would give the lands to whom he pleased—that he had a right to do so in his own Province—and that the Province would accommodate them all."

By this answer they judged the reports were true, which they had heard; but, in order to discharge their duty, they presented the following Memorial, praying that the promise they had received, might be fulfilled; they also modified their former proposal, accommodating it more to the Governor's wishes.

## No. VIII.

" To His Excellency John Parr, Esquire, Governor of his Majesty's Province of Nova-Scotia,  
&c. &c. &c.

" The Memorial of Anthony Stewart and Thomas Knox.

" Humbly sheweth,

" That your Memorialists, having maturely considered your Excellency's answer to their letter

I am, Gentlemen,  
Your most obedient  
Humble servant,  
RICHARD BULKELEY.

Anthony Stewart, Thomas Knox,  
and Samuel Collybury, Esqrs.

The Reader cannot but observe that instead of a Patent for land already surveyed, there is only a warrant of survey offered; instead of granting one thousand acres to those who were likely to become settlers, as formerly promised, a warrant of survey was to be ordered for such only as were *open in the Province*; and the promise of reserving the remainder of the land, viz. four thousand acres, for each Associate till the King's pleasure should be known, was wholly omitted, as it was now intended to make no such reserve.

you, that his Excellency will order a warrant of survey of one thousand acres of land for each of those gentlemen who are now in this Province, and will order a reserve of the like quantity, for each of those who are absent which shall be granted to them on their arrival.

( 30 )

letter of the 13th of March, conveyed to them in a letter from Mr. Bulkeley on the 15th, they entreat your Excellency may be pleased to order a Patent to issue for fifty-three thousand acres agreeable to the lines of survey returned into the Chief Surveyor's office, and that this patent may be made out in the names of the agents for the use of the persons named in the warrant of survey.—That many of the Gentlemen for whom your Memorialists act as Agents, not having as yet arrived in this Province, they beg leave to suggest that the lands allotted for them may be reserved for such reasonable time as your Excellency may think fit—after the expiration of which the lands so reserved shall revert to the Crown.

(Signed) ANTHONY STEWART,  
" April 1st, 1784. THOMAS KNOX."

This Memorial was answered in a letter from Mr. Bulkeley which served to confirm the reports they had heard; for it totally varied from the former proposals, and the terms were inadmissible; Mr. Bulkeley's letter was in these words.

## No. IX.

" Halifax, April, 5th 1784.

" GENTLEMEN,

" In answer to your Memorial to the Governor, dated the 1st instant, I am to acquaint you,

No.

The Agents, with that decent firmness and spirit which became men of honor, when conscious of all treatment, on receipt of this letter, which they looked on as containing the Governor's final resolution, wrote the following letter to him, which closed their correspondence on this subject.



( 32 )

( 33 )

No. X.

" SIR,                    *Halifax, April 7th, 1784.*

" By a letter from Mr. Bulkeley, dated the 5th instant, we were made acquainted with your Excellency's answer to our last Memorial, respecting our claim for lands on the River Sissibou, St. Mary's Bay and lands adjacent.

" This claim being founded on your Excellency's warrant, dated the 30th August last, duly executed and returned to the Chief Surveyor, as appears by his certificate, approved by your Excellency, and now in our possession, we have no doubt that each of the Gentlemen named in the warrant, has a right to a plantation containing five thousand acres agreeable to the warrant of survey.

" Having been informed, however, that your Excellency thought yourself restricted by late instructions from granting more than one thousand acres to one person, we were willing, notwithstanding we were taught to believe these instructions could not affect any transaction of your Excellency *prior* to their date, to accept in the mean time of that quantity of land, on condition that the remainder should be reserved till his Majesty's pleasure should be known.

"The

“ We have the honor to be,  
Your Excellency’s  
Most obedient huml  
ANTHONY S  
THOMAS K  
(Signed.)

“ To his Excellency Governor Parr,  
Esq. Eccl. Esq.”

These letters which are given without the variation of a titile from the originals, are now before the Reader, and submitted to his judgment. My observations on them shall be few; and in these I shall avoid asperity of language.

I may say with truth, that the Associates have been hardly used. They wished to settle near each other, and for this purpose, applied jointly for a grant of land in Nova-Scotia. Their application was well received—a warrant of survey was ordered to locate and run out the quantity of land desired by the Agents in their behalf—with great labour and a heavy expence, they explored the wilderness, and had the land surveyed; and being confident of receiving those lands, they prepared to settle them. As many of them as could remove to Nova-Scotia immediately, went

" The offer, therefore, now made, being greatly inadequate to our original claim, and even short of the proposals made to us in Mr. Bulkeley's letter of the 15th of March; we beg leave, as Agents for the Gentlemen concerned, to decline their acceptance of it: in full confidence, that the justice of our claim, when it shall be more fully considered, will secure to us a reserve of the lands in question.

" This we are constrained to do, being discouraged by the delays and difficulties, we have had to contend with, during our negotiation in this business; and apprehensive lest, by an acceptance of this partial offer, we may incur the censure of our associates, whose interest we consider as inseparable from our own.

" The heavy expences incurred on this occasion, exclusive of the account already approved of, are among the least of the ill consequences which will attend the refusal of our grants—several of the Gentlemen who are absent giving the fullest credence to your Excellency's warrant, went from New-York to England with intention to bring settlers in the spring, to the lands surveyed for them: and those who remained in the States to collect their effects, are now preparing to come hither for the purpose of improving their grants.

" We think it necessary to add, that we shall take the earliest opportunity of trans-  
F mitting



( 35 )

were thither last year; the affairs of some made it absolutely necessary for them to remain a little longer in the revolted Colonies; and of others, to come over to England: but of those who remained in the revolted Colonies or came to England, several have gone to Nova-Scotia this summer; others are now on their way thither; and the rest are preparing to follow as soon as possible. As nearly as I can judge, all the Associators, except two or three, will become actual, efficient settlers in Nova-Scotia.

But their principal design has been frustrated—they cannot form that neighbourhood which they proposed, and from which they promised themselves much satisfaction in their heavy adversity. The lands which were explored and surveyed at their expence, are probably granted away to others; and they are deprived of the benefit of their money and labour. Nor is this all. Time, which in their situation is extremely precious, much time has been lost. Had they not depended on obtaining those lands, many of them who are now destitute, had by this time procured and improved other lands.—Let the world judge whether such treatment as they have met with be right or fair.

Candour itself cannot acquit Governor Parr of inconsistency; and I am determined not to deviate from candour in the little I shall say of him. Had he not meant to grant their

F 2

lands

( 36 )

lands to the fifty-five Associators, he should have told them so before they incurred so great an expence, and subjected themselves to so many other inconveniences, in the expectation of obtaining them. He may be justifiable in supposing himself restrained by the King's instructions, from granting more than one thousand acres to one person. No one at least should blame him for this; as a Gentleman in such cases should be guided by a sense of duty and honor, of which others cannot so rightly judge. That he had been justified, however, in granting the whole quantity of land specified in his warrant of survey, as that warrant was prior to the instructions, is an opinion that many will adopt, and may be supported with good reasons. But to let this pass.

The proper method of getting over this difficulty, and what would have done credit to the Governor on both sides, was the one mentioned in Mr. Bulkeley's letter of March 15th, which, as far as I can learn, was the Governor's own original proposal; namely, to grant one thousand acres to each Associator, and reserve the rest for his Majesty's decision; and should any Associator not come to Nova-Scotia, his share to revert to the Crown—why was not this proposal adhered to? were it in my power, I would palliate even this. But the fact is certain, and will not admit of extenuation: this proposal, made in writing—this solemn promise, was violated!—Yet possibly

( 37 )

sibly some who were near the Governor—who were actuated by mercenary, finister motives, and cared not for his reputation, were chiefly to blame; and from Mr. Parr's character in other respects, I think this highly probable.

Be it remembered, however, that the fifty-five Associators neither made, nor published, any complaints against Governor Parr, or his Council. They had but little cause of complaint till last Spring; for the delays and *in-solence of office* are so frequent every where, that they may be considered as things of course, and evils which can scarcely be remedied. Even when treated in the manner now mentioned, which is not reconcilable to the principles of common justice; they published no complaints in England or Nova-Scotia. Their Agents transmitted to this country the papers that passed on the occasion, merely to assist them in obtaining redress from their gracious Sovereign, the common Parent and Friend of all his subjects. But neither those papers, nor any others relative to Governor Parr, had been published, if his officious Vindicator, had not compelled them to it for their excalpation from his malicious, unfounded charges.

That complaints, however, were made, and some of them published, though not by the Associators, is pretty clear; and it is now time to enquire into the matter. But before I proceed to this, it may be proper to make a few remarks on the Vindicator's treatment of two Gentlemen,



( 38 )

Gentlemen, whom he means to single out as particular objects of his rancour; these are Colonel Willard, of Massachusetts Bay, and the Reverend Dr. Inglis, late Rector of New-York.

Unfortunately for the Vindicator, he could not perhaps have pitched on two persons whose characters are more invulnerable. Colonel Willard was a gentleman of large property before the rebellion, and had held many offices, civil and military, under the King. He commanded with great reputation, a regiment of Provincial Troops in the late French war, when Canada, in an unlucky hour for Britain and America, was reduced. He is well known to almost every gentleman who commanded in America during the two last wars; and there is not perhaps in this or any other country, a person of a more fair, unblemished character, or of more established reputation for strict integrity and uprightness—a character which he has uniformly maintained in every station through life. Witness, in particular, his saving several thousand pounds to Government, during the time of his late employment as Commissary, which he had a right by prescription to put into his own pocket; a fact that is well known at several of the public offices. Yet the Vindicator ridiculously sneers at this Gentleman, as “a Mandamus Councillor of Massachusetts Bay”—as, “a Commissary of fresh provisions;” insinuating that these offices imply much reproach; which they

( 40 )

“ regard to conscience in this respect, I flatter  
“ myself that you will continue the same line  
“ of conduct. My fidelity to my Sovereign  
“ cannot be questioned; yet, were I to re-  
“ main here, and transfer my allegiance to  
“ the new Government; I do assure you I  
“ would serve and support that Government  
“ with the same fidelity, that I served the  
“ Government under which I have hitherto  
“ lived. This is the common duty of all  
“ Christians: and on no other principle can  
“ any Government or society subsist.” —

Serm. Pages 28, 29.

One would imagine it was past the power of malice to pervert these sentiments, so just in themselves, so proper for the occasion on which they were delivered. Yet the Vindicator insinuates from hence, that some of the Associates, were “inclined to TRANSFER their allegiance from the King to Congress;” referring to a note in his margin, where he says, —“Vide The Farewell Sermon, preached at New-York, by Charles Inglis, D.D.” —

Wind. p. 32.

( 39 )

they may do among rebels; but with Loyalists they are indications of merit.

Of Doctor Inglis, it is needless to say much; as his character is beyond the reach of our Vindicator’s malice. He was universally known to all who were at New-York during the late rebellion; and it is unnecessary to tell them, that he was uniformly loyal, and active in his exertions on the part of Government. The confiscation of his property, which I am credibly informed was very large, and his attainder by the rebels, are clear indications of the part he acted. I was at New-York when this Gentleman took leave of his Congregation, who shewed the strongest attachment to him, and gave every proof of it. In his *Farewell Sermon*, which affected me much, and which he was requested by hundreds of his friends, (of which I was one) to print for their use; he offered his advice, at parting, on some points that might be for the benefit of those who remained behind. Among other things he told them :

“ Through the disposal of an All-wise Providence, you will soon be under new Rulers,  
“ and a new Government. When thus situated,  
“ let me admonish you to shew the same fidelity that you shewed to your former Government. It is the duty of Christians to be subject to, and obey the civil power, not only for wrath but conscience sake; and from the proofs you have already given of

“ regard

I have now done with the Vindicator, and hope it will never hereafter be my fate to contend with such an adversary; nor to answer such a Pamphlet, where dulness and malice seem to be at strife, which has the best claim to every sentence. Of all wretched advocates, he is certainly the most wretched!

As



As I am oaly concerned to shew that the complaints in Nova-Scotia, did not originate with or from the fifty-five assciators; nothing is necessary but to produce the documents which evince this. No comment is required; and as I am not an enemy to Governor Parr, or his Council, I shall not attempt to aggravate matters—my inclination would rather lead me to soften them, were it in my power.

The following Proclamation, issued by Governor Parr himself, evidently shews that complaints were made, and discontents generally prevailed among the Loyalists who had emigrated to Nova-Scotia, long before the fifty-five Assciators had any reason whatever to complain of him.

## No. XI.

*By his Excellency John Parr, Esq. Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over his Majesty's Province of Nova-Scotia, and its Dependencies, Vice-Admiral of the same, &c. &c. &c.*

“ Whereas representation has been made to me, that discontents and uneasiness have arisen in several of the new settlements now forming in this Province, because they have not hitherto received grants for the lands which have been assigned for them.

“ I have therefore thought fit to publish this Proclamation, hereby signifying, that as soon

G

18th Act of his present Majesty, entitled, ‘ An Act for removing all Doubts and Apprehensions concerning Taxation by the Parliament of Great-Britain, in the Colonies, Provinces, and Plantations in North-America and the West-Indies, &c.’ In the most express terms restrained itself for ever from imposing any taxes or duties, except for the regulation of trade; the produce of which taxes or duties to be disposed of by the Provincial Assemblies.”

Here we find the grounds of discontent are pointed out; namely, because the new settlers had not received their lands; and a very just ground of discontent it certainly was to people in their situation. The Proclamation intimated, that returns of survey, and certificates of those persons who were entitled to lands, came in slowly. How far this circumstance might justify the delay of granting their lands to Emigrants, I shall not decide. It certainly did not satisfy the Loyalists, who did, and do still complain bitterly. From a multitude of letters which demonstrate this, and might be produced, the following are selected; all written by men of excellent character and respectable situations; who neither are of the fifty-five, nor have any connection with them.

( 43 )

soon as proper surveys of the lands located shall have been returned together with proper certificates, that every person having a right to, and claiming lands under his Majesty's instructions, has taken the usual oaths prescribed by law, and also subscribed the declaration, ‘ Acknowledging his Majesty in Parliament, to be the Supreme Legislature of this Province, grants shall be made out to such person in due form.’

“ And whereas several persons to whom no grants have been made, have notwithstanding, made pretended sale of the lands assigned to them, and have received consideration therefor. This is therefore to signify, that no grants of land shall pass to any other person or persons, than to those in whose names the original warrants were issued, and have settled on such lands.

“ Given under my Hand and Seal at Halifax, this twenty-second day of January 1784, and in the 24th year of his Majesty's Reign.

JOHN PARR.”

“ By his Excellency's Command,  
RICH. BULKELEY.”

“ We are directed by Authority to add the following:

“ This declaration however general, cannot extend to Taxation; Parliament having by the 18th

No.



( 44 )

## No. XII.

*Extract of a Letter from a respectable Merchant,  
dated Halifax, April 28, 1784.*

" We have heard that General Fox (God bless him) is coming out Governor for St. John's side of the Bay (of Fundy), which will soon make that a respectable Government. I hope that Administration will provide well for Governor Parr; and appoint a man of ability, integrity, and business for our Governor. If not, the Province will be totally ruined, at least for this generation. It is impossible to describe within the compass of a letter, the wretchedness of this Government; men, after staying weeks, nay months in town, and spending the little money they had, are obliged to return to the country, as ignorant where their lands are to be, as when they came to town; many that supposed themselves on lands designed for them, are removed; others, that purchased lots, are turned off them, and the land granted to those who were less deserving. In short, it is a universal saying here, that no man can place any dependance on promises, warrants, or any thing short of a grant, with the Great-Seal annexed. Many get warrants of survey; but few are fortunate enough to procure grants.

" Shelburne stands a great chance to be ruined by the instability of the Governor.

Several

( 45 )

Several of those who drew lots there last summer, are turned off, and the lots given to others. Ten men have got a grant of five thousand acres of land within one mile and a quarter of the town, and the only good tract of land within several miles of the harbour. I will venture to assert, that there are upwards of twelve thousand Refugees in this Province, that have been here from ten to eighteen months, that do not know where their land is to lie; and their Agents are discouraged. Mr. Botsford \*, from Annapolis, has been the only fortunate Agent; he, after staying in town fourteen weeks, got the only two grants that have been made, (except to a few private people)—these are Digby and Clemence on the south side of Annapolis Basin; the whole

\* This Gentleman, with Messrs. Cummings and Hauser, went to Nova-Scotia in the autumn of the year 1782, having been recommended by Sir Guy Carlton to Sir Andrew Snape Hammond, as Agents for the Loyalists. Mr. Cummings died some time after their arrival in that Province, and Messrs. Botsford and Hauser explored the country. To the indefatigable zeal and steady perseverance in completing the object of his appointment, the Loyalists are indebted for the grants Mr. Botsford has obtained for Digby and Clemence; which has been the means of preventing those riots which have but too frequently happened in other parts of the Province. Mr. Botsford is a very respectable Refugee from New Haven in Connecticut, where he was possessed of a considerable property, which he was obliged to abandon, and seek refuge within the British lines.

number

( 46 )

number of grants, from five hundred to five thousand acres, is thirty-six; and the two townships are included to make up that number; instead of which, there ought to be as many townships granted.

" There is one matter more which I wish you would exert yourself about; viz. we are informed that applications are making for the American States, to have the liberty of trading directly with the British Islands: should their friends succeed in this as they have in every thing else, this Province, Newfoundland and Canada will be essentially hurt. These Provinces are abundantly able to supply the British Islands with every thing they want of American produce. White oak staves are the only article that cannot be immediately furnished in great abundance; and I am well assured, that in one year more, a plenty of them will be sent from Canada. The oil fishery is another material branch of business; should the States be permitted, directly or indirectly, to supply Britain with whale oil or bone, this Province will be veryentially hurt. On the other hand, if the States are not permitted to furnish the English Islands with fish, lumber, &c. &c. &c.; nor England with oil and whale-bone; their fishermen of all kinds will very soon remove to this Province, which will make it one of the first places for business in all America. Do exert your own and your friends abilities and interest



( 47 )

rest to effect so great a good for this infant country; and you will oblige thousands, besides,

Dear Sir, yours sincerely."

" P. S. 29th. I find on particular inquiry that forty-three grants have been made out since Governor Parr came to this Government; the chief of them to old inhabitants, many of whom were not any way intitled to lands. But I far over-estimated the number of Loyallists provided with land; for you may depend upon it, that there are not *one thousand* of them this day provided for. So that if *thirty thousand* came to the Province, at this rate, it will be *thirty years* before they are all provided with lands."

### No. XIII.

*Extract of a Letter from a Gentleman of distinction, and of the best information, dated Halifax, Nova-Scotia, 28th April 1784.*

This letter begins with a minute description of the climate, soil, and coasts of Nova-Scotia; and then proceeds:

" The whole Province is accommodated with navigable rivers, and immense lakes; every species of timber that is commonly used in the middle Colonies and New-England, abounds

individual, by expediting their settlement, and acquiring property in lands, the most foolish and disgusting difficulties are continually play'd off; insomuch, that the labour of *twenty-five thousand* people for the last six months, has been either lost; or most ridiculously, nay, mischievously employed in building the shells of cities, without the least attention to settling farms near them for their subsistence. So that they must import all the provisions wanted, as much as if they lived upon an island of rock, in the midst of the Atlantic. It is a moderate calculation to say—that the labour of *fifteen thousand* people for six months past, has been absolutely sunk and lost.

" Great Britain is at great expence to comfort and re-establish her American subjects, and to encourage this country into opulence, and commercial utility. The principle is truly wise, just, and liberal; but, God in his wrath never more completely disappointed the wisdom of man, than this judicious system is execrated by the wretched debility, pride, ignorance, and folly of the administration of Government here; which is from Alpha to Omega, deficient in plan, method, order, arrangement, stability, certainty, and dispatch. It is particularly unfortunate at the present crisis, when, from the concurrence of circumstances, a contrary exertion and management would certainly recover at least *one hundred thousand* good subjects, to increase the national stock. In short, my dear Sir, I must say,

( 48 )

abounds here, except white oak and hickory—these are scarce. I am not therefore a little surpriz'd that the aptitude of this Colony for the lumber trade can be made a question; it surely cannot be seriously doubted by any body that knows the country, which I rejoice to assure you may afford to supply foreign markets much cheaper than could be done from Piscataqua since the year 1763, or ever can be again.

" I have seen and do perfectly know both countries—I am particularly acquainted in every branch of the business, and can clearly prove this position. My present attentions afford me the best means of judging, upon actual observation; and I again repeat—it gives me great pleasure to find that this country has no equal competitor in this business—a business so essential to the British commerce with her West-India Islands.—Cattle, horses, sheep, and hogs, may also be raised as cheap here, or cheaper, than in the middle Colonies. Hemp, flax, lime, plaster of Paris, coals, esculent roots, and tobacco—pot-ash, and every sort of fish, are the natural and inexhaustible sources for use and exportation from this Province. These mines of wealth invite our industry, and call on the wisdom of Government to embrace them.

" But alas! my dear Sir, here we stand still, indeed I fear we are worse than standing still—we are retrograding. Instead of rooting every individual,

( 49 )



( 50 )

say; that this government is as disgraceful to Britain, as was the conduct of the American war—or, what is still worse, the American peace. How long Britain will continue thus to trifle away her Colony interests, cannot be foreseen; but those who love her name, will join with you and me in lamenting it.

"I am distressed to see that at present all the remote districts are dissatisfied and much deranged. Indeed a very great proportion of the people are virtually without any Government at all. Riots, tumults, and complaints prevail; and I am at a loss to account for the remaining shadow of social order that exists. It would be voluminous to detail the causes that lead to this unworthy situation of public affairs, and their probable consequences. If those that can redress them, are not already informed and convinced, neither would they be, if we spoke with the tongues of men and angels."

I wish it were in my power to say that the late accounts from Nova-Scotia were more favorable, and that the causes of those complaints were removed. But matters there seem to remain exactly in the same situation. This appears from the following Extract of a Letter, written by a Gentleman of strict honor and probity in the military line, dated Halifax, June 19th 1784, which is one of the latest received from that Province.

No.

( 52 )

merit from this pamphlet; the writing of it may be an effort of gratitude for a tract of land, already received in Nova-Scotia; or it may have been written to ensure one that is in expectation.

( 51 )

No. XIV.

"The new settlers are extremely disgusted with the conduct of the present Governor, Secretary, &c. &c. &c. Very few grants of land are yet given; many have been twenty-two months in the country, and expended their provisions and what little money they had, in some little town-hut, without having any land they can call their own." —

Such, Reader, is the deplorable situation of those worthy men, who, on account of their loyalty to the King, and attachment to this country, have risked their lives, sacrificed their property, and have been obliged to abandon their former habitations, where they lived in ease and affluence. The complaints here specified, are those which were really made, and which the Vindicator should have answered and refuted, if it had been in his power. But he meddles not with them; he tries to mislead the judgment of the Public, by referring to complaints which never existed. His pamphlet is therefore no Vindication of Governor Parr; but a vehicle of slander against the fifty-five Associates; who neither aspersed Governor Parr, nor did any thing else in this whole affair, that was inconsistent with strict integrity, or the character of honest men. Yet, perhaps, the Vindicator may assume to himself great merit

F I N I S.



Dr. INGLIS's  
 D E F E N C E  
 O F  
 H I S C H A R A C T E R.

A G A I N S T

Certain false and malicious Charges contained in  
 a Pamphlet, intitled,

*A Reply to Remarks on a Vindication of  
 Gov. Parr and his Council, &c. &c.*

In illâ, cujuscunque sit auctoris rhyparographiâ, loquentiæ  
 satis, licentiæ nimis, insolentiæ plus nimio; multum li-  
 voris, plus Odii, plurimum incitiae; parum ordinis,  
 minus facundiæ, minimum judicii; nihil memoriae, mi-  
 nus nihilo sinceritatis.

BALTHASAR BONIFACIUS.

L O N D O N:  
 PRINTED IN THE YEAR 1784.

Dr INGLIS's Defence, &c.

WHEN Dr. Inglis was lately on a visit to some relations in Ireland, a pamphlet was published in this city, intitled, *A Reply to Remarks on a Vindication of Gov. Parr and his Council, &c.* in which he is loaded with much personal abuse and scurility, and his conduct, in some instances, is represented to have been criminal and infamous. He is conscious to himself that he does not deserve any

part of this outrageous insult. For he never, knowingly, injured any man's person, property, or reputation; but on the contrary, always endeavoured by a general rectitude of conduct, and particularly by acts of kindness and humanity, to discharge the duties both of a christian clergyman, and a member of civil society. He hopes, therefore, that his friends, considering his situation, will excuse his troubling them with a short vindication of himself, in answer to such injurious and groundless charges.

The only provocation for this extraordinary treatment, so far as he can learn, is, that his name stands in the list of some associated loyalists, who, to the number of fifty-five, previously to the evacuation of New-York, had jointly applied for a grant of lands in Nova-Scotia. When he signed that application, he



( 4 )

he did not apprehend there was any thing blameable in the design, or that could give just offence to any candid or unprejudiced person. But, be that as it may, he had no hand in projecting that scheme; the whole of the association was nearly compleated, before he knew of it; the grant then in view, he does not, nor did he at the time, look upon as a thing of much consequence; he is perfectly indifferent, so far as it concerns himself, about the success of that application; and he freely submits his conduct in that affair to the judgment of any unprejudiced person, who shall have attended to the general explanation lately laid before the public, in a pamphlet, intitled—*Remarks on a Vindication of Gov. Parr and his Council, &c.* without any further apology.

As to what concerns Gov. Parr, Dr. Inglis never saw that gentleman; he never considered himself as injured by Him; and therefore he can entertain no personal enmity towards Him. On the other hand, he respects Him for the commission with which He is honoured by his Sovereign; and were he to reside within His jurisdiction, he would think it his duty to make others respect Him, and to support His authority, to the utmost of his power.

Vague and general calumny, with which this malignant pamphlet abounds, neither requires, nor will admit of, a particular answer. In what follows, Dr. Inglis will therefore confine himself to those specific charges, affecting his clerical and moral character, which, for the first time, he is now called upon to defend.

At p. 46, the libeller says—“ The Doctor was “ so griping as to drag before Alderman Waddell, “ poor loyal women and men for his surplice fees; “ and

( 5 )

“ and be it remembered, that the Rev. Mr. John Sayre, with a large family, and a chaplaincy to “ support them, paid —— shillings currency, to “ deliver a poor woman from an arrest, and the “ power of our new Rector, she not having where- “ withal to pay for her child’s grave, but by her “ labour.”

This is a gross misrepresentation, in every part. Although Dr. Inglis’s property was very considerable, and many people, of course, were indebted to him; yet from a principle of forbearance and humanity, he never prosecuted any for debts, of whatever magnitude, or however contracted. So far was he from dragging, or summoning, the poor loyalists before Alderman Waddell, or any other magistrate, for surplice fees, that he gave positive and repeated orders to his sexton, not to prosecute for fees of any kind; and not only so, but he directed him, that those who pleaded poverty on

such occasions, should be sent to him; and he solemnly declares that none, whether inhabitants, refugees, sailors, or soldiers, ever applied to him for a remission of the surplice fees, without receiving a discharge. Nay, besides remitting their debts, he often contributed money to the relief of those very persons.

As Alderman Waddell, a gentleman of good character, now in London, has been mentioned on this occasion, and as it was possible that the sexton might, in some instances, have departed from his orders, though there was no ground to suspect him; Dr. Inglis thought proper to call upon Mr. Waddell, a few days ago, to inquire into the truth of what is here so positively asserted. This gentleman assured him that the facts, specified in the above charge,

( 6 )

charge, were matters of which he had no knowledge; and he voluntarily gave the following certificate.

“ A pamphlet having been lately published in this city, intitled—*A Reply to Remarks on a late Pamphlet, intitled a Vindication of Gov. Parr and his Council, &c.* and containing several reflections on the character of the Rev. Dr. Charles Inglis, late Rector of New-York; particularly in p. 46, where it is said—“ The Doctor was so griping as to drag before Alderman Waddell, poor loyal women and men for his surplice fees; and be it remembered, that the Rev. Mr. John Sayre, with a large family, and a chaplaincy to support them, paid —— shillings currency, to deliver a poor woman from an arrest, and the power of our new Rector, she not having wherewithal to pay for her child’s grave, but by her labour.”

“ In justice therefore to the above Dr. Inglis, whom I have known for 18 years past, I do hereby certify and declare, that I know nothing of the above alledged facts—that Dr. Inglis never did drag or summon any men or women whatever before me at New-York, for the payment of his surplice fees—that although the sextons of the English and Dutch churches did sometimes complain to me that people were backward in paying their fees for burials in their respective churches, as many people, taking advantage of the times, refused to pay their just debts, even when they were able; yet I never understood that the sexton of the English church acted in this by order of Dr. Inglis; nor were any compulsory methods used by me to enforce the payment of the above claims; nor do I know whether they ever were paid. And as to what is alledged concerning the

Rev.

( 7 )

“ Rev. Mr. Sayre, I declare I never heard or knew of it before I saw it in the above pamphlet; and from several circumstances to which I was privy



at New-York, I have every reason to believe that this charge, and the other above-mentioned against Dr. Inglis, are totally groundless.

London,  
Wm. WADDELL.

Nov. 16, 1784.

With respect to Mr. Sayre, Dr. Inglis avers, with Mr. Waddell, that he never heard or knew anything of the case above stated, till it appeared in this pamphlet. Mr. Sayre was his particular friend; and had such an affair happened, it is not supposeable that Mr. Sayre would not have informed him of it, from the regard that he professed. The whole is therefore undoubtedly a mere fiction. Indeed the story, so far as it relates to the Rector, confutes itself. The Rector of New York has no fees for graves, except those in the chancel; and none but people of rank and fortune are allowed to be buried there. Nor has he fees for such as are buried elsewhere, unless the burial office is read; and even then his fees are trifling, compared with other fees to the corporation, the sexton, and grave-digger. It frequently happened, on a monthly settlement with his sexton, that near half of Dr. Inglis's fees for burials had been remitted, in consequence of applications made to him for that purpose by the friends and relations of the deceased.

The next accusation is introduced thus—"The following anecdote may be added—A certain priest had a legacy of £.100 left him by a bad woman, on condition the priest buried her body in the chancel. The priest looking for his gain from that quarter, buried the corpse, and ob-

"tained

( 8 )

"tained the £.100. Afterwards, to satisfy the vestry and congregation, he went and removed the corpse to the church-yard, and kept his legacy, because he had complied with the condition of the will." *Reply*, p. 46, 47.

The reader will observe, that the crime here stated, is only *insinuated*, and not directly charged against any particular person; yet the insinuation is of such a kind, that none, who read the pamphlet, can avoid seeing against whom it is intended. For the woman's name is mentioned before, as known to the writer of this *defence*; and the author of the *Reply*, is here, and in several preceding pages, throwing out the lowest and most envenomed scurrility, professedly, against him. But a more malignant, groundless insinuation was, perhaps, never advanced against any person.

Now the story which this libeller has misrepresented and perverted, for the purpose of blackening an envied character, was really this. In the year 1780, as nearly as can be recollectec, the Rector of New-York was sent, for to visit a sick woman, who appeared to be of the lower class, and whose name and character were then unknown to him. He visited her twice; and she behaved with decency, but

was extremely ignorant. When he was preparing to visit her a third time, one of the under-sextons came and informed him, that the woman was dead; and that her husband was desirous that she should be buried in the chancel. The sexton did not then mention her name, but described her by the house in which she had lived. The Rev. Dr. Seabury, a clergyman of respectable character, happened to be present, and heard all that passed on the occasion—a circumstance which this reviler was probably not

( 9 )

not aware of. The Rector told the sexton in reply, that none but people of distinction were buried in the chancel; and consequently, that the request could not be granted. The objection was to her rank, and not to her character, which was not known to him.

On the sexton's repeatedly urging the anxiety of the husband to have the body of the deceased buried in some part of the church; the Rector at length consented that she might be interred in one of the aisles. People of inferior rank had sometimes been buried in the church at New-York; where it was the established custom, as hath been intimated before, that the fees for interment in the chancel only, went to the Rector; but in any other part of the church, or in the church-yard, to the corporation. Consequently, by excluding her from the chancel, the Rector excluded himself from a fee of five pounds. The woman was accordingly buried, without any consciousness, on the part of the Rector, of acting amiss. Indeed he saw nothing that could lead to suspicion; as the woman was married, was advanced in years, and every thing wore the appearance of decency in her house, at the times when he visited her.

A few days after, one of the church-wardens, and a member of the vestry, came to the Rector, and informed him, that the woman in question bore a very bad character, and many serious people would be disgusted at her being buried in the church. He was both surprised and chagrined to find that he had been thus imposed on by the sexton; and it was agreed, that a vestry should be immediately called. The vestry met, and it was resolved, that the corpse should be taken up, and interred in the church-

( 10 )

church-yard; which resolve was forthwith carried into execution. The story, as here told, Dr. Inglis most solemnly declares to be the truth, and the whole truth, to the best of his knowledge and recollection.

As to the insinuation, that £.100, or any other sum whatever, was bequeathed or offered to him, for burying the aforesaid woman in the chancel or elsewhere, by any person, directly or indirectly, or



that he ever received any sum on that account, it is absolutely false; and he might, with as much justice be charged with having set fire to the dock-yard in Portsmouth. The woman herself was married, and had it not in her power to bequeath a legacy. The only person who spoke to him about her interment, was the under-sexton, and he would not have dared to make any such proposal. If the husband had given him a sum of money for burying his wife in the chancel, or in any other part of the church, he would not have failed to expose the Rector's character, who took the lead in this business; yet he did not, nor can it be pretended that he did this; although he was much enraged at the removal of the corpse. The only person who was blameable on the occasion, was the under-sexton; he knew the character of the woman, and the Rector was so incensed at him for suppressing it, that nothing prevented his immediately turning him off; but compassion for his family, consisting of a wife, six children, and a mother, who had no other support than what arose from the daily income of his office.

How it happened that the Rector was not acquainted with the character of this woman, remains to be accounted for; and he conceives nothing further

## ( 11 )

further is necessary for this, than to give, "as in the former instances," a plain detail of facts." His parish was very large. It included the whole city and island of New-York. The inhabitants were estimated at about 30,000; and as nearly as he could judge, his communicants amounted to between 900 and 1000. There were many hundreds in his parish, of whom he knew little or nothing; as is generally the case, of all Rectors, who have parishes equally populous. It need not therefore be wondered, that he did not know the character of this woman, especially, as he had no turn for inquiring into the secret history and anecdotes, either of families or individuals. His inclinations led him quite another way. The time which could be spared from the laborious duties of his station, he was always careful to employ to better purpose; and surely none should think the worse of him, because he was not acquainted with women of bad fame.

This Reviler insinuates, that Dr. Inglis was deficient in attention and charity to the Poor. He asks—"Was the Shunamite's chamber known?" "Or did the hungry ever turn into his (Dr. Inglis's) house to eat bread?" *Reply*, p. 44. If by Shunamite is meant such as were distressed by sickness or want—the fatherless and widow; Dr. Inglis can declare, that he made it his constant business and practice to find out and relieve such. Much of his time was taken up in this manner, nor did the discharge of any part of his duty cor-

respond more exactly with his inclinations.

He can also declare, that "the hungry did, literally and frequently, turn into his house to eat bread." He had often found that the money which

## ( 12 )

which he gave in charity, had been misapplied, and wasted in intemperance. Hence, he became cautious of giving money to such as he did not know to be sober, or as were not recommended by persons on whom he could rely. But as many, apparently distressed, and whose character was not known, applied for relief; his custom was, in such cases, to substitute bread for money; and he can with truth aver, that the bread thus distributed, sometimes amounted, in a day, nearly to as much as was consumed in his own numerous family. He could easily enlarge on this subject; but he hopes it is needless to be more particular. Indeed nothing but the defence of his character could have induced him to say thus much; and he will only add—that want of compassion to the poor, is one of the last charges that he expected to be brought against him—and that the multitudes of poor, who crowded to his house, when leaving New-York, and parted from him in tears, afforded a pleasing testimony that he was not inattentive to people of that class—a testimony which more than countervails the groundless calumny of this assassin.

These are the only charges, contained in the *Reply*, that affect Dr. Inglis's moral character; and he flatters himself that they require no further refutation. The aforesaid author, indeed, with equal malignity and as little truth, endeavours to injure the Doctor's interest, and to revile him in other respects; but as these things are, comparatively, of little moment, the answer to such of them as seem to deserve any notice, shall be short; the rest may be past over in silence.

"The

## ( 13 )

"The Doctor, says he, has but little reason to complain of his losses in consequence of the rebellion, although he has lost his second wife's fortune; seeing, he, as Rector, Chaplain, and Pensioner has annually had an income of £.1200 and £.1400 sterling." *Reply*, p. 46.

Nothing need be said in answer to this assertion, (which, like the preceding, evidently shews an utter ignorance of facts) than to declare—that the estimate of professional losses given by Dr. Inglis, upon oath, to the Commissioners, does not amount to one third of the last sum above specified; and, that while he remained at New-York, he had no pension whatever. When leaving New-York, his Vestry, unsolicited, made him a present of £.300; both as a testimony of personal esteem, and from a sense



that his circumstances were low. This alone would be enough to confute all the slanders that are advanced against him. For had Doctor Inglis been considered in the same point of light at New-York, with respect to his character and affluence, as that in which this writer would place him; the Vestry, composed of as respectable persons as any in the whole city, would not have made him that present.

The above pamphlet contains many injurious and unmerited reflections against Dr. Inglis's abilities, his principles, his parentage, family, &c. But he has made no ostentatious pretences to abilities and literature; such as they are, they have been always employed in the cause of Religion; often in that of his Church and Sovereign, and of the British Constitution. He only wishes that they had

( 14 )

had been greater, and that he had been able to serve each more effectually. He holds no principles, civil or religious, that he is ashamed to avow, or unable to defend. They have, on various occasions, been made known to the world; and he never has seen cause to retract any of them.

He has no reason to be ashamed of his parentage and family; except that he falls short of what might be expected from one who has had the advantage of such connections. Both his grandfathers were beneficed clergymen of the church of England; his father was a beneficed clergyman, and his eldest brother was also a beneficed clergyman, succeeding his father in one of his parishes, for he had two. These were all men of good moral lives and sound principles; they were also eminent for their abilities and erudition. There was not a fanatic, a rebel, or republican among them—not one who was an assassin of characters; who, by false accusations, attempted to wound the reputation of others.

Dr. Inglis thinks it needless to take any further notice of this libel; nor will he at present offer those reflections which naturally occur on the occasion. He only begs leave to observe—that he resided almost eighteen years at New-York—that during this period, he uniformly endeavoured to discharge his duty, and to support, with reputation, the character of a clergyman and a gentleman—that he was so happy as to gain the approbation of his congregations, and to receive from them every mark of affection and esteem. He therefore trusts that his character is too well known and established, to be shaken by the wanton abuse, and unsupported charges

( 15 )

charges of this anonymous Reviler. If such attempts to injure an innocent person's reputation, were to be successful, the number is small indeed

whose character would be safe one moment; for all are liable to the like illiberal treatment, and few, if any, wholly escape it.

*Mortimer-street, No. 15,  
November 20, 1784.*

CHARLES INGLIS.

F I N I S.



RIGHT REVEREND ABRAHAM JARVIS, D.D., LL.D.

Second Bishop of Connecticut.

Consecrated Trinity Church, New Haven, Sept. 18, 1797.

From a water color painted by his son, Rev. Samuel F. Jarvis, D.D. Owned by his grandson,

Rev. S. F. Jarvis.





